

Sex, Race, Ethnicity
and
Education

SEX, RACE, ETHNICITY AND EDUCATION

EDITED BY :

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AND

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PUBLISHED BY :

anu prakashan

MEERUT-250 001

INDIA.

372.372
B41C

SEX, RACE, ETHNICITY AND EDUCATION

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Price Rs. 60-00 \$ 8-00

PUBLISHED BY :

Kailash Mithal

ANU PRAKASHAN

SHIVAJI ROAD, MEERUT CITY-250 001, INDIA.

PRINTED BY :

Deepak Mithal

at **G. T. PRINTERS**

BOMBAY BAZAR, MEERUT CANTT-250 001.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The publisher express his thanks and indebtedness to those who have helped in this project and specially thankful to Dr. Michael V. Belok and Ralph Shoub, College of Education, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, U.S.A who have devoted their valuable time in the collection of articles and editing it.

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INTRODUCTION

The book covers the most important issues in American education to-day.

A scholarly work which is useful as a text book, because of the outstanding quality of contributors, who are educationists and have devoted much of their time in the field of education.

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Education and The New Pluralism

I

My wife says it began about the time our son was born. Sam is now six years old. Others I've talked to date it from the assassination of John Kennedy. Some mark the Vietnam war as the start of it all. But, however people differ on the exact point when it began to change, everyone over thirty knows we are living in a new society, a society quite different from the one we all grew up in.

Many observers have characterized this new society by affixing the label "post": "post-industrial", "post-liberal", "post-Christian", "post-nationalist", etc. Yet, while it is true that the society we all knew has passed away, this obituary prefix fails to describe what is now aborning: the new pluralism.

Many people now accept, indeed seek, membership in therapy groups, they earlier tried to escape from, or ignore. Psychologically minded observers see this as a quest for identity. I see it as an attempt to overcome powerlessness. Consciousness of victimization has driven people together, into groups of similarly situated "victims", forging them into "movements"—liberation movements. So today we have blacks and Indians, Italians and Mexicans, females and homosexuals, senior citizens and adolescents—all coming together, forming groups to combat the discrimination and oppression they endure. Slogans and epithets rain down on all sides: "racist!", "sexist!", "honky!", "male-chauvinist!". (There is even the charge of "speciesist!" leveled against those who discriminate against and oppress animals.) Organizations proliferate: Black Panthers, Gray Panthers, N. O. W. There is even an organization to protect ugly people—Uglies unlimited—against discrimination by employers who

advertize for "attractive" secretaries, hostesses, airline stewardesses, and the like.

This new pluralism extends beyond the traditional group lines of race, sex, ethnic origins, and age. For, while blacks, females, Italians and senior citizens have all organized to protect themselves, others have done so, too, on different bases. This new pluralism, then, includes employees in the public service—policemen, firemen, sanitation workers, teachers, and public transportation workers—who have organized themselves into unions to protect against exploitation; it includes consumers, who—rejecting the dictum *caveat emptor*—have organized into cooperatives, and into consumer groups to protect themselves against shoddy, unsafe, and defective merchandise; it includes the laity and lesser clergy who have organized to protect against the religious domination of the hierarchy; it includes prison inmates seeking to protect themselves against the dehumanizing prison system; it includes "concerned citizens" who have organized to get government out of the hands of powerful special interests; it includes those seeking to protect a way of life, or a life style—conservationists, hunters, hippies, pacifists, anti-noise and anti-pollution groups; it also includes groups created for ad hoc protection against a specific threat—to save a tree from highway engineers, to protect a city block against crime, to preserve an historic landmark against demolition.

The most obvious consequence of this new pluralism is the overthrow of innumerable conventional mores. As different groups have coalesced and sought liberation they have attacked and weakened long accepted social restraints and restrictions. Divorce, abortion, pornography, even crime and incivility are but a few of the more dramatic social manifestations of battles against "victimization". No less dramatic are the changing behavior patterns in dress and speech: a new frankness, a deliberate flaunting of traditional prohibitions. In our public places and in our long venerated institutions, customary decorum has disappeared—people no longer behave as they formerly did in churches, in schools, in courts, in the theater. Teachers, judges, clergymen, and political officials now experience a declining social authority; they no longer secure automatic respect.

This rapid and almost total overthrow of what many have

long known, accepted, endorsed— and even revered— has caused much perplexity and dismay. There are widespread apocalyptic fears that civilization is ending. The schools, the churches, the family, the government— all seem to be falling apart.

Now I rather doubt that civilization is falling apart (although it may be), but I do think that our social constructions— the ways we construe our social arrangements— are exploding. Indeed our old constructions now seem quite simplistic. For a long time we divided society into the poor and the rich, the liberals and the reactionaries, the altruists and the egoists. The first were the good guys ; the second, bad guys. Now, because it is so wide, so broad, so deep, the new pluralism not only forces us to reconstrue good and bad, it also confronts us with the consciousness that each of us is simultaneously oppressor and oppressed. No matter who we are, or what we are (and we are many things simultaneously : male or female, and adult or child, and white or black, and worker or employer, and consumer or merchandizer, and professional or client, and criminal or law-abiding citizen), we are a member of some groups who are oppressed, and at the same time, a member of other groups who oppress.

Our old, simplistic, constructions of good guys and bad guys emerged from presumptions about what is “right”, “true”, “just”, and “good”— for ourselves and others. According to those presumptions it was “right” for whites to dictate how blacks should behave, “right” to determine their appropriate “place” ; it was “good” to discourage and stamp out “unsavoury” characteristics common to certain ethnic groups ; and according to these constructions it was “true” that homosexuals are “sick”, lawbreakers “belong in jail”, and “a woman’s place is in the home”. These presumptions led us to certain “just” expectations : elderly folks were supposed to retire peacefully and go live in St. Petersburg, or else be institutionalized ; children should be seen (sometimes) but never heard— they ought to be confined in schools ; and duly constituted officials of government were to be awarded respect, obedience, and deference ; you *shouldn’t* fight city hall.

But all these presumptions about what was “right” or “good”, or “true”, or “just”, for different groups actually legitimized oppression. This is not to say that members of certain

groups were the victims of a conscious conspiracy on the part of other groups. It is just that those presumptions led us to construct arrangements in the society that have had unexpected implications and consequences which caused pain and suffering for some. And so long as it was assumed that the arrangements of the society were "right" and "proper", people concluded that the implications and consequences were right and proper, too "That's life!"

Today, however, most of us have ceased to believe our social arrangements are correct. We no longer hold them sacred and immune from criticism. More and more now recognize that fallible men created the social arrangements we have, so they cannot be perfect. As a result, most of us are no longer willing to endure the pain and suffering these arrangements cause. People seek self-protection.

This concern with self-protection—the essence of the new pluralism—has revived a neo-Jeffersonian approach to society.

As everyone knows, Jefferson thought that each person has an inalienable right to pursue happiness. To engage in such a pursuit one must be free, and to remain free one has to be vigilant: the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. For Jefferson permanent vigilance took the form of various institutionalized checks and restraints on those who would or might oppress others.

Today people continue to insist—maybe more volubly than ever before—that each person has an inalienable right to pursue happiness. Concomittantly, each person still encounters many and various infringements of that right. Now in the past many recognized that interference with their right to pursue happiness came about because they were members of some group: black, Italian, women, public employees, or whatever. And those who were victimized usually tried to escape (if they tried at all) by escaping from that group, or else they tried to demonstrate that they were a "different kind" of black, Italian, woman, public employee. Increasingly we witness battles for group liberty or freedom, group protests against discrimination and prejudice. Groups today have become vigilant—many actually seem hostile and paranoid—in order to protect themselves.

Jefferson thought the government had the responsibility to secure the protection of the rights of every citizen—rights set forth

in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Each could protect himself through using the arrangements institutionalized in the several branches of government. Today we find groups using both governmental, as well as extra governmental means to protect themselves. Groups do use the courts, do lobby in the legislatures and do appeal to government agencies to protect themselves. They engage in block voting during elections, they make and sign petitions, and they enact legally binding contracts and pacts. But they also employ boycotts, strikes, demonstrations, collective bargaining, confrontations, and dialogue; they use advertizing and publicity, and rely upon the media to expose those who threaten them. They create organizations that engender militancy, publish their own journals, magazines and newspapers, and issue admonitory warnings to all would-be oppressors.

The new pluralism is expanding as more and different groups seek and secure their own self-protection. This improves society. On the one hand it reduces the pain and suffering people have previously endured, and, on the other hand, it provides more people the freedom to pursue happiness in their own different ways. Of course, we shall never have a perfect society. The arrangements we construct will always be inadequate in some way; they will always cause some kind of pain and suffering. Yet, as our consciousness of actual pain and suffering expands, we can continually provide better protection for those who seek it. But there are limits here, too. Violence, terror, revolution, are not acceptable modes of self-protection. Recourse to them can destroy any society, especially a pluralistic one.

Now if our society is to maintain and expand its pluralism—thus becoming continually self-renewing—then it would help if all understand how its arrangements function, understand how groups have, can, and will protect themselves. With such knowledge and understandings each person can then better exercise his right to pursue happiness and accept the right of others to do likewise. We need an education designed to initiate people into the pluralistic way of life.

II

Before investigating what might be an appropriate education for the pluralistic society emerging today, it might help to take a look at how our schools have functioned up till now, how they

have served the society.

Ever since first setting them up we have used our public schools to combat pluralism. This becomes clear when we realize that the three periods of most intense concern about the workings of the schools took place at the very times Americans were trying to digest great numbers of immigrants. We have used the schools to absorb, assimilate and integrate various different groups into the society. We have used them to transform and change people so that they would "fit in". We have used the public schools to unify, to solidify, the society.

For the first two hundred years in the new world Americans had no public schools of the type we know today. During this period education here—as in Europe—was a private or philanthropic enterprise. Each family provided what it could for its own children, and voluntary agencies (especially churches) supplied charity education for the children of the poor. Then, in the first half of the nineteenth century, great numbers of immigrant Irish and Germans arrived. Crowded into the industrial and mill towns that were springing up throughout the northeast, people blamed these "newcomers" for creating a host of social ills. "They" introduced crime, licentiousness, disease, corruption, and violence. Many began to fear for the stability of the society. The way to combat these ills, some argued, was education. As one social reformer put it: "They who refuse to train up children in the way they should go are training up incendiaries and madmen to destroy property and life, and to invade and pollute the sanctuaries of society."

But to secure education for all meant replacing the traditional private and philanthropic approach with a truly public one. At this point reformers began to promote *public* schools—schools accessible to all, providing free education to all, and financially supported by all. According to Horace Mann, one of the most famous of these school promoters, education is "the great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance wheel of the social machinery." Public schools, he promised, would dislodge and drive out "the great body of vices and crimes which now sadden and torment the community." The schools could pull this off through what was then called "moral education": the development of self discipline and habits of self control. In

America, the argument went, where people are free from surveillance and repression by Church and State—so traditional in Europe—everyone had to be self governing. Without self control and self-imposed restraints, people—witness the immigrants—will create chaos and anarchy.

From its inception, then, Americans construed the public school as the agency to unify the society, to create social harmony and stability by imposing on all a common set of values, beliefs, and understandings.

Between 1890 and 1920 America received the greatest number of immigrants in its history. During this period these newcomers—mostly from southern, central, and eastern Europe—settled for the most part in large cities. Here they joined others who had abandoned rural life in America. The rapid population explosion in the cities generated new social disorders and social ills. Once again Americans turned to the schools.

This time the task was overwhelming. By 1910 there were well over nine and a half million foreign born in American cities, together with over twelve million natives of foreign or mixed parentage. Most were unskilled, unlettered, unwashed (literally), and unable to speak English. To assimilate these “foreigners” the city schools had to undergo a radical transformation. Teaching the traditional subject matter and trying to inculcate self-control were just not enough. The schools had to provide vocational training and training in homemaking skills, they had to wash and bathe children, while teaching both young and old how to speak English as well as how to read and write it. Above all, the school had to teach cooperation and constructive social participation. In the words of one of the most famous architects of its transformation, the public school was to become “an embryonic community”. In schools the children were to learn how to live together in harmony. The schools now deliberately made children conscious of their shared or common goals and taught them to work together to attain those goals. Through shared, common, experiences people of vastly different ethnic, religious, and social class backgrounds were to be transformed into a single community.

Of course, the public schools could not recapture and restore the face to face community that had existed before the rise of the

cities. That had disappeared forever. But by transforming itself into an "embryonic community" the schools could help to infuse the quality of cooperation and the procedures for securing consensus—both so necessary for creating and maintaining a unified, harmonious, and stable society. No one expressed this new conception more eloquently than John Dewey: "When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guaranty of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious."

We are still in the midst of the next, third, phase of intense educational activity—activity, like its predecessors, set afoot by a dramatic rise in the rate of immigration. During this third period of immigration, which began at the end of the World War II, the migrants again flocked to the cities. This time, however, they came not from Europe, but from this hemisphere: from Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, from Mexico, and from the rural areas of the south. Many spoke only Spanish, most were black or brown, all were poor. They swelled the "minority" population in every city; often their children became the majority in many city school systems.

Once again the rapid demographic changes in the urban areas of the nation created new, and intensified old, social ills and disorders. And once again people turned to the schools—to socialize the young, to integrate them into the larger society. To carry this out required large expenditures of money, time, and energy, as new plans and programs came into being. Most of these experimental projects now introduced into the urban schools were supposed to provide a "compensatory education" to help the minority children overcome their "cultural deprivation". Given a "head start", or initiated to "higher horizons", schoolmen expected the "minority group" children to be able to "keep up" and "move ahead" into the "mainstream of society". But by the mid-sixties it became evident that the results had failed to live up to the expectations. The failure, some claimed, lay with the schoolmen themselves: they were prejudiced against minority children and had low expectations of their scholastic abilities. Moreover, the critics continued, this racism was built into the

institutional arrangements of the school system itself. So, for education to work much had to be changed: the patterns of control, the structure, the curriculum, the organization, even the personnel. Yet, where these kinds of change have taken place, it is manifestly clear today that the schools have done little to assimilate the minorities.

Meanwhile, partly as a result of the schools' failure, a growing number of minority people began to reject the aim of integration into the "mainstream of American society". Some noisily, others quietly, proclaimed and thus quickened a consciousness of group identity and feelings of racial and ethnic pride. They reconstrued assimilation as a covert form of group oppression. This became the source and inspiration for what I have called the new pluralism.

Once blacks and Spanish speaking groups began to reject the schools' efforts to process them into "acceptable Americans", many demanded educational programs that would foster group pride and group identity. And so it happened that programs in Black Studies and in Hispanic Studies began to dot the educational landscape.

Recently educators have become conscious of other cultural groups—Oriental, for example—who attend our urban schools. Might not they, too, have educational programs that preserve and extend *their* cultural heritage? This has resulted in a new movement that attracts many schoolmen: "Multicultural Education". The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) has lately adopted a position statement, "No One Model American", produced by its own Commission on Multicultural Education. That statement, in part, declares:

Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives. Multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major

education institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism. ["No One Model American", *Journal of Teacher Education*. Winter 1973, p. 264].

This so clearly signals an advance over the traditional construction of schools as agencies to unify the members of all diverse groups into a homogeneous community that one hesitates to demur. Yet I do think that it misconstrues what is happening in our society today, and so fails to construct a more appropriate educational response. For, if my previous analysis is correct, we are in the presence of more than simply a nascent cultural pluralism. The pluralism emerging in our society is both broader and deeper. It encompasses sex, age, occupation, interests, abilities, as well as geographical location, and physical and mental condition—to mention but a few of the bases already operative. People today are joining—or discovering themselves to be members of—groups distinguished by each of these characteristics.

Yet the members of these groups do not seek "the preservation and extension" of their differences. This is of no concern to women, consumers, nor senior citizens, for example. Nor do the minority groups—blacks, Spanish speaking, nor Oriental—strive to "preserve and extend" their differences. Some extremists—the nationalists—do. But when educators take their cues from them, they exacerbate dissension within our educational institutions. The result, predictably, is cultural conflict—usually sparked by disagreement over what is, what is not, "truly" part of the culture that the school seeks to "preserve and extend". And, understandably, protests arise that only *bona fide* members of that culture (black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, or whatever) can teach, administer, participate in, or evaluate the educational programs set up to "preserve and extend" the culture.

My objections to multicultural education are not solely directed to its divisive consequences. I object to the presumption the schools manifest in undertaking such an endeavor. As I understand it, the preservation and extension of one's inherited ethnic, racial, or cultural heritage is a private and personal matter, not one for the public schools. Many people do wish to identify themselves with their heritage, many seek to be free from it, others simply sustain a passive curiosity about it. So just as people resented the earlier attempts of the schools to turn every-

one into "one model American", so now many resent this attempt to type and enclose them, or their children, in a cultural, ethnic, or racial group. The old approach de-racinated and de-ethnicized people, stripping them of their historical identity. It was impositional and authoritarian. But the new multicultural approach is impositional and authoritarian, too; even though, in this case, the identity the school wants to impose on each student is "his own". In both approaches the school refuses to accept people as they are and as they want to be. It curtails the freedom of each person to pursue happiness in his own way.

If my previous analysis is correct, then, rather than "preserving and extending" their differences, what *every* member of a minority group wants is protection against victimization. This is what the new pluralism is all about. *Every* black, Puerto Rican, oriental, in the United States—just as *every* woman, homo-sexual, adolescent, consumer, public employee—has suffered *some* kind of discrimination, affront, insult, or repression, *because* of being a member of that group. But not just minority groups: everyone of us belongs to many different groups, thus everyone of us is vulnerable to oppression from others. So we are all interested in knowing how we can better protect ourselves. This, I think, is the appropriate function for the school to take up in this age of new social pluralism.

III

To suggest that the schools should merely help people to protect themselves cedes the schools a minimal social function. It is negative and passive, even static—quite unlike the dynamic, active, and positive tasks usually assigned to our schools. To accept it, I admit, would signal a reduction of expectations about what schools can or should try to bring about. Instead of casting the school as the agency to create a "new and better" society by changing people, it construes the school as the agency that accepts people as they are and simply tries to help them better protect themselves, which means to help them secure the freedom necessary for them to pursue the kind of life they wish.

Actually, this suggestion for a minimal social function for the schools is not novel. It was the basis of the proposal for education in Virginia that Thomas Jefferson drew up in 1789.

He proposed that all children should go to school for three years at public expense, there to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and history. Austere as it seems to us today, Jefferson thought that three years spent pursuing this simple curriculum would be sufficient to help people protect themselves. If everyone knew how to read and write so that they could use newspapers, and if all studied history so that they could spot tyranny in all its guises—then, he reasoned, people would be able to guard their own liberty.

Jefferson made his educational proposals in a time and place where the strains of social pluralism had not yet emerged, where differences of class and race, of ethnic origin and religion were not divisive, non-threatening to the social fabric. When social pluralism did begin to emerge in the first half of the nineteenth century many Americans feared it. Pluralism, they thought, could only produce anarchy and chaos. These fears lay behind the attempts to use the schools to contain and restrict blacks, ethnic groups, women, consumers, workers, and many others—socialising each group to fit into a society that had predetermined the ways the group could pursue happiness. Throughout their history the public schools have functioned to protect the society *against* people—especially those people who, in one or another way, are *different*, hence a threat to harmony and stability.

But today all about us we see a new social pluralism bursting forth. And though we experience uneasiness, tension, even conflict, there is no chaos, no anarchy—simply increased openness and freedom. In spite of long standing dire fears to the contrary, most people *do not want to dominate others*. They merely want to be free to pursue happiness as they see fit, and they will go to great lengths to protect themselves so that they may do so.

Jefferson and others of the founding fathers recognized this human disposition, and as a result they charged social institutions—like the government and the schools—with the task of helping people peacefully protect this right to pursue happiness. Is it not time to restore this conception of what schools are for?

To carry out this minimal function requires no great transformation of the schools. First, as Jefferson insisted, the schools should teach all to read and write. Literacy is a necessary qualification for self-protection. Beyond literacy the burden will

fall upon the teacher of social studies. Here, as with Jefferson's plan, teachers could stress the history of oppression. But whereas Jefferson limited this to the study of political and governmental oppression, today we would include studies of the various ways the many different groups have oppressed others: how whites oppressed blacks; men oppressed women; adults, adolescents; how manufacturers and merchandizers victimized consumers; employers, employees ... and so on. Students could study how the victims became conscious of their oppression, and how they constructed and used means of self-protection. In addition to history, students could learn what arrangements for self-protection presently exist, and how these arrangements function.

But even beyond this history, I think social studies teachers will have to include instruction in the theory of self-protection. This social theory is at least as old as Jefferson. Let me remind you of some of its salient features, by briefly sketching the principle, the focus, and the necessary pre-condition for its operation.

Beginning with the assumption that all people have the right to pursue happiness as they see fit, we can readily see that a perfect society cannot exist—simply because one person's pursuit may interfere with another's. This leads to the basic principle of accommodation: Everyone should be able to protect himself.

The theory of self-protection focuses on the existing society. In it, as in all that exist, various accommodations already operate through which people do protect themselves. But since we can never have a perfect society this means that the existing accommodations will always be inadequate in some way. So all schemes for improving society will emerge from discoveries of existing inadequacies, and will consist of refinements and changes in the arrangements to help people better protect themselves.

An open society is a pre-condition for self-protection to flourish. That is, the existing social arrangements must be open to criticism and refinable in light of unrefuted criticism. This means that people construe all existing arrangements as experiments that will, in time, and through criticism, reveal themselves as inadequate. Now no society is completely open. Yet the logic of self-protection impells us to increase whatever openness

there is, expanding the domain of criticism and critical dialogue so that more people can better protect themselves.

What results can we expect from this instruction in self protection? The most significant one, I suggest, would be the emergence of a critical approach toward society. To have a critical approach means to look out for oneself and to be receptive to others attempts to do likewise. People would expect limits, boundaries, and restraints. But whenever they felt victimized by a specific restraint, or oppressed by the acts of others exercising *their* right to pursue happiness, they would criticize, complain, and set about the task of better protecting themselves. To secure this they would utilize the existing arrangements they learned about in school; they might, if necessary, try to create or devise new ones.

The emergent social pluralism in our present society condemns and rejects the traditional socialization function of the public schools. We no longer want schools that protect society *against* people; we want schools that protect people—or better still: schools that teach people how to protect themselves.

Cultural Pluralism and its Relativistic Component

I. INTRODUCTION

Cultural pluralism is important to social thought in at least two ways. First, it may be used in justifying the overriding concern for cultural and self-interest groups who wish to share more fully in the goods and services of American society. Second, institutional authorities are pressured on many fronts either to take greater account of cultural pluralism or to suppress it altogether. Hence, the following comments regarding cultural pluralism will be shown to have significant consequences for the way in which policy-making may be affected, and the way society's commitment to the provision of cultural pluralism ought to be formulated. The comments about cultural pluralism will revolve around an explication of how cultural pluralism is intimately connected to ethnicity, and how both cultural pluralism and ethnicity have a relativistic component.

II. CULTURAL PLURALISM : A NEED FOR PERSPECTIVE

There is growing interest in cultural pluralism (hereinafter Cp) among American politicians and political scientists as well as among those who are not specifically and practically concerned with social problems and policies. Cp is not, of course, a new term, but varying degrees of confusion have surrounded the concept since its first realization by Horace M. Kallen. In 1915 Kallen hopefully prognosticated the realization of Cp in the United States as :

... the outlines of a possible great and truly democratic commonwealth becomes discernible. Its form would be that of the federal republic ; its substance a democracy of nationali-

ties, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions in the enterprise of self-realization through the perfection of men according to their kind. The common language of the commonwealth, the language of its great tradition, would be English, but each nationality would have for its emotional and voluntary life its own peculiar dialect or speech, its own individual and inevitable ethical and intellectual forms. The political and economic life of the commonwealth is a single unit and serves as the foundation and the background for the realization of the distinctive individuality of each *natio* [sic] that composes it and of the pooling of these in a harmony above them all. Thus, "American civilization" may come to mean the perfection of the cooperative harmonies of "European civilization"—the waste, the squalor and the distress of Europe being eliminated—a multiplicity in a unity an orchestration of mankind.¹

Kallen's overly optimistic characterization of Cp as America stood at a kind of cultural crossroad early in this century rested squarely on the *fact* that the form of government of the United States is that of a federal republic and on the *ideal* of various ethnic cultures working harmoniously within the framework of a democratic society. A corollary of this view is that each of the ethnic cultures has something positive, something of value, to contribute to American democratic life. Finally, Kallen maintained that the idea of democracy, in the words of the Constitution, of "all men being created equal," carries an implicit assumption that there are ostensible differences between men and groups that can be viewed as "equal". In the face of WASP domination, Kallen attempted to prove that Cp—freedom for groups and unity through diversity—was the real meaning of American democracy.

The social theory of Cp has been one of the central themes in the literature on minority groups in the United States.² Fundamentally, cultural pluralists contend that, over time, ethnic groups should maintain their differences and American life will be enriched by their efforts. But it has become apparent that the United States has not become over the passage of 60 years or so "a democracy of nationalities, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions." Nor are the relationships

which exist among the various cultural, racial, and national groups conducive to "self-realization through perfection of men according to their own kind." Cultural assimilation for many white ethnic groups has occurred; thus we have Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Irish-Americans, and so on. But many minority groups, particularly Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans, have remained outsiders, omitted from participating in the "orchestration of mankind," at least in American society.

In the case of the non-white groups in American society the reasons are analyzed by sociologist Robert Blauner as follows:

The fundamental issue is historical. People of color have never been an integral part of the Anglo-Saxon political community and culture because they did not enter the dominant society in the same way as did the European ethnics. The third world notion points to a basic distinction between *immigration and colonization as the two major processes through which new population groups are incorporated into a nation*. Immigrant groups enter a new territory or society voluntarily, they may be pushed out of their old-country by dire economic or political oppressions. Colonized groups become part of a new society through force or violence. They are conquered, enslaved, or pressured into movement. Thus, the third world formulation is a bold attack on the myth that America is the land of the free or, more specifically, a nation whose population has been built up through successive waves of immigration. The third world perspective returns to the origins of the American experience, reminding us that this nation owes its very existence to colonialism, and that along with settlers and immigrants there have always been conquered Indians and Black slaves, and later defeated Mexicans—that is colonial subjects—on the national soil.³

It is precisely this point that bears so mightily on today's rediscovered Cp. During the 1960's to the present there has been a considerable amount of attention and debate given to the fact that a pluralistic pattern remains significant in American life. In simple terms, the ethnic, racial, and religious enclaves of American society have not totally disappeared. First- and third-generation groups reveal a pattern of Cp.⁴ Ethnicity, not a new term to be sure, is currently "in the air". Where cultural, racial, and

national groups were formerly viewed as regettable survivals from an earlier period, to be treated with disdain or sympathy, there is now a growing sense that not only are such groups necessary but they may be the forms of social life most capable and worthy of saving the American form of government and its espoused values.⁵

One may wonder "What about this ethnic resurgence?" Does it capture a new reality, or is it simply a revived way of expressing something old, perhaps primordial? One way of getting at the problem is to recognize that to many Americans today Cp seems to express accurately the current wave of ethnic feeling which is sweeping over the United States. Cp appears to those in search of a new social theory as the proper substitution for class ties that have been weakened, a lost faith and pride in our national destiny, a flawed sense of identity and common purpose being a worker was once to be able to supply, and so on. In short, behind the rise or resurgence of Cp is the current anomie in American society— more specifically, a rising crime and delinquency rate, an energy crisis, rising inflation, a crisis in political leadership both at home and abroad, and findings that purpose a general loss of confidence in the American Dream. It is this development that must be understood alongside the postwar assertion of rights by many previously "omitted" or "left-out" groups— Blacks, Chicanos, etc.,— which has spawned defensive counter-claims and countermobilization on the part of those ethnic groups that feel most directly threatened by the demands of the previously "omitted". Finally, government, the newly and vastly enlarged welfare state, has become the center of decision-making concerning everything from housing to schooling to abortion that profoundly touches the interests of all groups. The government's apparent willingness to deal with groups of citizens on the strength of their ethnic backgrounds has strengthened interest group resolve to organize or mobilize along racial or cultural lines.⁶

We are no longer a nation of "closet ethnics," many are busy searching through the ancestral tree in search of some special ethnic identity. The upshot of this phenomenon has been nowhere more apparent than on television. First, there was Archie Bunker, no closet bigot he, then came Sanford and Son, Chico, Rhoda, Kojak, Florida, the Jeffersons, Horshack, the Montefuscos, and so on. Outside of television we see such lapel buttons that say "Irish

Power," "Kiss me, I'm Italian," and bumper stickers proclaiming "Dine Bizell" (Navajo Power), and "Viva la Raza," as well as Sioux headbands and afro hairdos.

It is important, therefore, to recognize that today's resurgent ethnicity suggests the past experiences of oppressed minorities as merely the starting point of a political and economic strategy calculated to cash in on today's rapidly changing political situation, particularly the role played by the federal government. The common elements fashioning today's Cp are the crucial considerations of deprivation, powerlessness, alienation, frustration, and the like. In the not too distant past, such conditions were viewed largely in terms of an individual-personal discontent, and help was sought from relatives and friends. But today individual-personal discontent has been replaced with collective-political discontent and ethnic groups seek significant power to harness the sources of discontent and to establish a political and economic base under the emotive slogan of Cp.

What is significant about this "retribalization" is in the Cp advocated today the older view that interest should guide reason in social decision-making and such interest was determined by economic position has dramatically shifted to the view that interest should guide social decision-making, but the economic and social interests of the members of a cultural, racial, or national group are paramount. In other words, curiously the interest-defined group of today is behaving as an ethnic group, whereas in the past the ethnic group behaved as an interest group.

What needs clarifying here is that the earlier Americanization movement culturally diverse groups were perjoratively "labeled" as ethnics by the older established Americans who claimed a cultural superiority. European immigrants were told explicitly and implicitly how much they differed from the host or dominant culture. Such a labeling rarely accommodated ethnic identification and human dignity marching hand in hand. It was a process of cultural debasement and gross prejudice.

In the shift from a group being "labeled" ethnic to a group asserting its ethnicity is the fact that today's ethnics themselves elect to make certain criteria count in establishing differences; but today the criteria are not necessarily culture, language, religion, and nationality. Rather they are of the ascriptive sort, and

should be recognized as such. Ethnicity appeals to and is fast taking hold among many Americans who know they cannot shake or be rid of certain identifying characteristics such as skin color or sex. Thus, the phenomenon of "retribalization" is indicative of more than a resurgent ethnicity; something larger is taking place. It is caught, in part, by what we have been referring to, namely, "retribalization"—the return to ascriptive rather than achieved characteristics as determinants of social stratification. Moreover, as Daniel Bell put it, "Ethnicity has become more salient than class because it can combine an interest with an affective tie ..."⁷ Apparently, the strategic efficacy of ethnicity is seen as a major focus for the mobilization of any group's interest. It is recognized as an effective strategy for asserting claims against the dominant institutions of society, for any oppressed group has the best chance of changing the system if it is able to raise the communal consciousness of its individual members.

Hence, ethnicity, and the social theory of Cp that rationalizes it, has considerable utility in the minds of many today. Cp is defended on the grounds that cultural diversity is good insofar as a society is enriched by a varied population because such groups extend the range of interests and human interaction. Secondly, Cp enhances the right of the individual to be different; such individuality challenges sameness and blandness. Hence, any conflicts that appear to disrupt the existing social order are to be seen as meaningful attempts to reorder society. The socially significant aspect of Cp as social theory is the degree to which it is claimed to be an attempt to redefine, or better, the social order in terms of reaching a new, changed social consensus.

The conclusion we can draw with regard to the question, "Why the rise of Cp," is given, at least in part, by the recognition that Cp is a fashionable social theory that supports cultural diversity, including ethnicity, as a basis for group mobilization, and legitimizes demands made cultural and ethnic groups.

III. ETHNIC COMMUNALITY, CP, AND CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

We turn now to what was implicit in the foregoing and that is the argument that ethnic communality is a clear case of Cp and Cp is "cultural democracy" at its best. The Kallen argument was supportive of pluralism in an America which reveled in ethnic

communality, and he proclaimed that ethnicity is the basic for democratic association. In short, ethnic communality is considered to be a necessary condition for Cp and, historically, the struggle to eliminate racial and religious prejudice and discrimination from American life has marched step-by-step with the glorification of ethnic communality. The relationship of "cultural democracy"—a society in which all groups maintain their communal identity and are rewarded for so doing—and ethnic identity is programmatically interwoven. Thomas F. Green argued that Cp, as a social ideal,

... involves a belief in freedom of association. Secondly, it contains the belief that there is no single way of life which can without question claim to be best; thirdly, it implies the belief that a humane society must afford room for many competing ways of life. And, finally, the ideal of pluralism implies that it is good to have such ways of life in competition and in contact and that the differences, between them will not be endangered but enhanced by the contact between them.⁸

The value commitments itemized by Green suggest what has been commonly referred to as "cultural democracy". Implied is a kind of "equality without conformity," or a spirit of "universal brotherhood".

The struggle to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in American life, *i. e.*, to make incarnate cultural democracy involves opportunity for the different ethnic factions to come together so that, in Green's words, "the differences between them will not be endangered but enhanced by the contact between them." Perhaps the argument for ethnic communality, Cp, and cultural democracy will be best served if made explicit as follows:

(i) If ethnic communality represents Cp, then ethnic communality is cultural democracy.

(ii) Ethnic communality is Cp.

Therefore,

(iii) Ethnic communality is cultural democracy.

What needs to be teased out of the argument are the pre-suppositions that:

1. Ethnic communality rests principally on personal choices in primary group relations and private organization affiliations.
2. Cp posits the right of self-interest groups of various forms to maintain their communal identity and their own subcultural values.
3. Cultural democracy is the legitimation of the choice of whether to fuse or remain separate for the groups in society.

The inevitable vagueness of the key terms of the presuppositions requires a judgment about whether the facts warrant asserting these presuppositions. For example, in any society communality rests in large part in affiliation that is not challenged. The group constrains and restricts its members by intimidation, indoctrination, shame, guilt, and other coercive methods. And with only moderate concern one may point out that even if we accept the truth of the *first presupposition*, don't the democratic values of "cultural democracy" prescribe free choice not only for groups but for individuals? With enough ingenuity we might envisage a scene in which an ethnic asserts himself saying, "I wish not to be a Jew, or a Catholic, or a Protestant, or an Indian; I am a man." He tries then to branch out by moving away from his ethnic enclave, but feels intimidated and subject to feelings of personal guilt and, therefore, rather than continue to experience considerable psychological discontent he returns to the confines of his ethnic community to remain ethnically enclosed forever. In short, the individual, as he matures and reaches the age when rational decision is feasible, should be allowed to choose freely whether to remain within the boundaries of communality created by his birthright ethnic group, to branch out into multiple inter-ethnic contacts, or even to change affiliation to that of another ethnic group should he wish to do so.

With regard to the *second* and *third presuppositions*, while it is true that Cp has the advantage of preserving the distinctiveness of different groups in a society by maximizing the means of maintaining their communal identity, it fails to include any kind of continuing and functional contact among groups. In this regard, Cp can be and is a threat to the unity of the society, producing a tendency for groups to constitute a threat to the social order

insofar as exclusivist groups exhibit tendencies strong enough to offer a divisive threat.

However, the truth of the first premise is precisely what is at issue here. Does ethnic communality represent Cp? Mainstream pluralists generally acknowledge that ethnicity is a basis for group association, but they see its political salience fading rapidly in any country that fosters democratic, individualist participation together with wide distribution of society's good and services. Some see a persistent gap between the values of Cp, those that Green so clearly enunciated, and an ethnic communality that promotes groupism and conformism, particularly with warring ethnic enclaves. The vulgar extremes to which ethnicity has been taken and the unscrupulous uses to which it has been put to deny children free access to better schools has put the notion that ethnic communality is Cp and that it represents cultural democracy seriously in jeopardy. If tolerance is basic to Cp and to cultural democracy, it may be that when ethnics talk of tolerance, they mean tolerance not of other individuals but of the groups to which they belong.

The soundness of the argument is, however, less of a preoccupation with those who wish to forcefully assert their position than is its effectiveness. The often preeminent position of effectiveness over soundness considerations is best explained by a search for meaning and direction in the midst of wide-range change and confusion. To be ethnic is to be deprived in some way of mobility and power. In this sense, both mainstream or historically identified ethnics as well as dissidents agree not only on the need for ethnic solidarity but on the legitimacy of ethnic demands. If a widely accepted pluralism stimulates and helps ethnics achieve political and economic gains, then the proposition that ethnicity, Cp, and cultural democracy are intimately connected will not be easily denied. But until ethnic communality is considered to be a position wherein individual human beings associate and the group has no reality apart from the individuals who belong to it, ethnic communality will not achieve the collective entity called cultural democracy. Individuals will continue to be denied and, likewise, individual opportunity and fulfillment as the legitimate ends of the cultural democracy. Democracy and public spirit must stem from individual interests and actions; groups and groupism tend to deny these.

IV. CULTURAL PLURALISM AND RELATIVISM

Within the last decade or so, the revitalization of Cp has been supported by various passions. First, there is the pluralist account of politics that entails the rivalry between interests. It starts from the premise that members of groups with distinctive interests will tend to act politically in a way that they believe to be conducive to advancing those interests, and assumes that the more equality of power is approached the more nearly will equality of consideration of interests. But, above all, there is the love of self-interest. For many today, it is not necessary to take seriously the claims of others in political and economic matters. States of mind, such as envy, greed, pity, fear, remorse, etc., may dominate as motivational channels along which the concern for one's own interests may flow. They also provide the incentives for any individual to make up his or her mind about the alternatives open to him. To demand that people should think things through to explore the "common good" or "common interest" is to ask more than the situation allows. In sum, in the activity of resurgent ethnicity group interest is paramount, and it need not be informed and sensitized, by knowledge of other views.

Second, and this is a corollary of the first point, Cp is a device for giving leverage to one's views or demands. It is presupposed that, *ceteris paribus*, any ethnic demand is legitimate and is to be taken seriously. If somebody is going to benefit with regard to reaping more of society's goods and services, nothing else save some special characteristic of one or another can be given which relevantly differentiates one claimant from the other, but that characterization cannot be made on the basis of any special *a priori* set of rules or regulations.

The positive side of the legitimacy of all ethnic demands is the assertion that "all claims are valid and no important consideration of claims can be immediately judged." This means that not just agreement about which claims are to be accepted is not to be had, but conscious, explicit attempts must be made to develop some form of public test to decide between competing group interests. Such a position invites agreement about the type of considerations that are to count as deciding in the public arena. On the negative side, political debate and decision-making are tremendously handicapped. Not only can no easily dealt

with adjudication of demands be had but the society is likely to tear itself to pieces in the process. There seems to be no way of allowing all demands as legitimate and devising and regulating a political process so that it leads to a just outcome for everybody.

A third reason for the resurgence of Cp is its close, almost inseparable in the minds of many, connection to relativism. In its main outline, relativism takes the form "X is good" and expands it to read, "X is approved by" For certain cases the word 'approved' may give way to some other attitude-designating term, such as 'liked,' 'favored,' or 'esteemed'. Essentially, it is assumed that people's judgments vary, differing from place to place and from time to time. Hence, the statement "X is good," expresses the more expanded sense "X is good, comparatively or relatively speaking." Given any specific judgment of the form, "X is good," there is one and only one sort of reason that is sufficient to justify it, namely, "X is good because the society in which I live agrees that it is or approves of it."

It is commonplace, of course, that "X is good," reduce to "X is considered good" in such-and-such a society. It is commonplace insofar as it is believed that things or states of affairs considered good by some people are not considered good by others. Hence, "X is considered good in society₁, and considered not good in society₂."

Actually, we must distinguish two aspects or elements of relativism. First, there is *cultural relativism* or the view that in different cultures the same action or thing (or same kind of action or thing) is judged differently. And the cause of this divergence is that the people who make the judgments come from different cultures. And second, there is *ethical relativism* or the view that accepts the thesis of cultural relativism and, in addition, contends that in each of the respective cultures the judgments made by the members of that culture are correct.

The differences between the two positions is immensely important and is reflected in the following. Cultural relativism is a casual theory which accounts for the fact of moral disagreements in different cultures in terms of the differences in cultures. In this sense it is empirical theory, for the common argument used to establish this view rests on the evidence of cultural anthropologists and social psychologists showing that ethical and

value judgments of different people and societies are different.

This point is of extraordinary importance. The relativism which supports Cp is promoted and accepted because it seems a correct position which accounts for certain facts, *i. e.*, that in different cultures the same action or thing is judged different, and the cause of this divergence is that the people who make the judgments come from different cultures. But the problem arises from a deplorable confusion which mistakes cultural relativism (empirical theory) with ethical relativism (philosophical theory) concerning the grounds which warrant moral claims. Put differently, the confusion centers around the difference between the causes of belief (cultural relativism) and the reasons or arguments which warrant moral claims (ethical relativism). The misunderstanding involved in promoting relativism as supportive of Cp can be viewed as resulting from confusing a causal explanation of behavior (cultural relativism) with a justification or moral action in terms of reason (ethical relativism).

Our concern here is with the claim that there is no objectively valid rational way of justifying basic ethical or value judgments one against another. This claim is a tempting one, widely subscribed to, and accounts for the wide-spread appeal of ethnic demands. It is not, of course, cultural relativism, but ethical relativism that is being considered.

Michael Scriven wrote :

The confusion of *pluralism*, of the proper tolerance for diversity of ideas, with *relativism*—the doctrine that there are no right and wrong answers in ethics or religion—is perhaps the most serious ideological barrier to the implementation of moral education today Pluralism requires respecting the right to *hold* divergent beliefs; it implies *neither* tolerance of *actions* based on those beliefs *nor* respecting the *content* of the beliefs. Some actions are morally indefensible, even if done “in conscience”—that is, because dictated by our beliefs (*e. g.*, sacrificing one’s children to one’s gods); and some beliefs are false, even if we respect the right of people to hold them (*e. g.*, the belief that there is a supreme being who requires the sacrificial killing of his follower’s children). There is an objectivity of fact—not a perfect objectivity of knowledge—on which ethics must be

built, or rot away. It does not justify intolerance, but neither does it justify relativism or a moral education that teaches relativism or implies it.⁹

It is this connection of pluralism with relativism that is the issue here. The point is Scriven suggests that in what he calls "relativism" no actions are either right or wrong. From this it follows that nothing we do is moral and nothing immoral and that everything is permitted and nothing morally forbidden or obligatory. Moreover, it follows that there are no correct ethical standards because if there were, then the actions they required would be morally obligatory, and the actions they forbid would be morally prohibited.

Scriven, of course, takes offense at the relativistic doctrine "that there are no right and wrong answers in ethics or religion." He contends that it is simply not the case, arguing that there is "an objectivity of fact on which ethics must be built" Such an objectivity of fact, for Scriven, "does not justify intolerance, but neither does it justify relativism or a moral education that teaches relativism or implies it."

In general, however, it is helpful to see what Scriven's position suggests for Cp. First, Cp is a form of pluralism, which Scriven defines as "the proper tolerance for diversity of ideas." Hence, Cp can be modified to imply that in any social dispute a diversity of ideas is to be properly tolerated and relativism—the doctrine that there are no right and wrong answers in ethics or religion (one is tempted to say in *ethnics* or religion)—serves as its rational support. The social interest in this identity of pluralism with relativism is crucial. The notion of relativism is related both to the expression "What's right for you is not always right for me" and "There are no right and wrong answers in anything." Where these intersect, controversy and conflict ensue. The rise of various ethnic groups has been judged by many writers to have aggravated such conflict because of their increasing reliance upon Cp as a defense of ethnicity as well as favoring either expression of relativism. Even where we have reason to suppose a group's beliefs and demands regarding these to be bizarre, at least from *our* standpoint, we are uneasy and defensive, upon reflection, to take account of the group's goals as irrational because of the persuasiveness of the theory that implies both "What's right for you

is not always right for me," and "There are no right and wrong answers in ethics or religion."

Here we are at the heart of the problem. Today's Cp has been broadened to suggest that in any social dispute no group need necessarily submit its demands to the judgment of others. That is, demands cast in the mold of ethnicity by pluralists are supported and cushioned by the ready acknowledgment that such demands cannot be circumscribed by objective data. The presumption remains: Ethnicity is more than an enduring fact of American life; it is Cp in its most realizable form, and all ethnic demands are *prima facie* legitimate because there is a most intimate connection between Cp and relativism.

The above presupposition views the demands of ethnics, in the name of Cp, not to be limited by political choices and patterns based on an artificial ordering of priorities made by an elite whose control of society's resources and policy prevents various groups from gaining the resources they need to compete in society. Not only does ethnicity challenge the established social order, but it seems to rest on an impregnable position that we must grant as such. This fact has been noted by Norman Glazer. He contended:

In short, with regard to the question of whether the new ethnicity is serious, my conclusion is that we (that is, informed public opinion) have given up the claim to know how to answer it. No matter how extreme or outlandish it may seem to begin with, if the demand is raised, persisted in, finds adherents, it *is* serious, or as serious as anything becomes in this world. There is no universal arbiter who decides which ethnic demands are serious and just and which are not, who honor those of the blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, on the one hand, and rejects those of the Poles, the Irish, and the Italians on the other. May be there should be such an arbiter, but we would be deceiving ourselves to believe that there is.¹⁰

Glazer takes the position that acknowledges not only the seriousness of ethnic demands, but sees its political salience quite clearly. To be ethnic is no longer to be denigrated; it is to be acknowledged as having legitimate and serious demands. We might shape up this point more succinctly. Ethnic communality as an expression of Cp encourages the view that any demand, if

cast in the mold of ethnicity, is serious and legitimate. The argument is as follows :

(i) if a demand is an ethnic one, then that demand is legitimate.

(ii) Demands are made by ethnics.

Therefore,

(iii) Ethnic demands are legitimate.

In this argument, ethnic communality is identified with Cp and is cloaked with an impregnable status giving ethnic demands a legitimacy. With this newly altered status ethnic demands do not allow of a universal or objective scale against which they can be measured. We can state the argument more cogently as follows :

(i) All ethnic demands are legitimate.

(ii) No ethnic demand is illegitimate.

(iii) *Therefore,*

If all ethnic demands are legitimate, then no ethnic demands are to be denied.

(iv) All ethnic demands are legitimate.

Therefore,

(v) No ethnic demands are to be denied.

If we reflect for a moment on the above argument we can see the notion of restraint in the pursuit of narrow or group-interested ends is removed. But the argument leaves entirely open what is it that legitimizes an ethnic demand. That is, ethnic demands are not *prima facie* legitimate, they must derive their legitimacy from some argument not previously given. The point is to ask : whence the legitimacy?

Much of the force of justifying ethnic demands as legitimate stems from relativism, particularly the claim "What's right for you is not always right for me." And because this claim seems to be true many of us become convinced of the legitimacy of ethnic demands. But this is an ambiguous claim and those interpretations of it which are readily acceptable are not those which imply ethical relativism. For instance, one interpretation of "What's right for you is not always right for me" is the following:

The right action for you is not always the right action for me. This interpretation is often true because two people are often quite different, but there is an inherent ambiguity in this. For example, if you are a good swimmer and I cannot swim, then in the same situation where each sees a child drowning, it is right for you to swim to help the child, but right for me to run off for help. But although what each of us ought to do in this same situation differs, it is still true *that both of us should do our best to help the child*. There is nothing relative about this.¹¹

What we must do is avoid confusion concerning the distinction between the *relativism of ethical actions* and the *relativism of ethical standards*.¹² The former assumes that actions are in some situations right and in some situations wrong. The latter assumes that ethical standards are in some situations correct and in some situations incorrect. In the consideration of the drowning child, we see the basic characterization of action relativism, not standard relativism. Both adults in that situation applied the same standard, namely, that we were obliged to help the child. Thus, and this is crucial, there can be a relativism of right actions without relativism of ethical standards.

Hence, on this interpretation of "What's right for you is not always right for me" what is expressed is action relativism,

... but because ethical relativism concerns standard relativism and because action relativism does not imply standard relativism, this often true claim does not imply ethical relativism.¹³

The claim, then, that "What's right for you is not always right for me" is not the basis of ethnic demands. Rather, it is the claim that there is no objectively valid way of justifying basic ethical or value judgments. The common argument used to establish the case for this claim rests on the evidence of cultural anthropologists. While it is true that the same action or thing is judged different in different cultures, it is a major and unwarranted jump for the description of existing relativism to the claim that no objectively valid rational way of justifying basic ethical or value judgments exists. To prove the validity of this jump, according to William K. Frankena,

One must also prove that people's basic ethical and value

judgments would differ and conflict even if they were fully enlightened and shared all the same factual beliefs. It is not enough to show that people's basic ethical and value judgments are different, for such differences might be all due to differences and incompletenesses in their factual beliefs ...¹⁴

To make explicit his argument, Frankena offers us the case of one society where it is believed that :

... children should put their parents to death before they get old, whereas we do not. These primitive people may believe this because they think their parents will be better off in the hereafter if they enter it while they are still able-bodied ; if this is the case, their ethics and ours are both alike in that they include the precept that children should do the best they can for their parents. The divergence, then, should be in factual, rather than in ethical beliefs.¹⁵

According to Frankena, it is not enough to show that societies espouse different basic ethical and value judgments ; one would have to show that such disagreement over judgments ... would still be different even if they were fully enlightened, conceptually clear, share the same factual beliefs, and were taking the same point of view.¹⁶ To demonstrate this, it would be necessary to find model cases in which all these conditions are fulfilled and people still disagree. Frankena claims that cultural anthropologists have not shown us such cases, for their cases exhibit differences in conceptual understanding and factual belief.¹⁷

It is important, therefore, to draw the conclusion that the claim that there is no objectively valid rational way of justifying basic ethical or value judgments one against the other has not been proved. It is, of course, very difficult to show that people's basic ethical and value judgments would not differ if they were fully enlightened and so on. But the burden of proof is on the maker of the claim who contends that such is not the case ; a claim implicit in the present-day ethnic's claim that there is no objectively valid rational way of justifying basic ethical disagreements.

The upshot of this is that ethnic demands, like other demands, are not immune to criticism and critique. Surely they may be

serious, either politically, economically, psychologically, or socially, but they are not free from the kind of critique and open debate so necessary for decision-making to take place. To consider otherwise is to start in motion a devolution of power based on appeasing self-interest groups who cannot be denied by so-called objective or rational means. This may lead to decentralization of political units, a retribalization of politics, and a "refeudalization" of society.

V. CONCLUSION

Some may contend that the gains made by ethnics and dissidents recently is the price to be paid for group conformism and mobility. Cp and the claims made for it—a relatively heterogeneous society with a high degree of cultural democracy—is a far more desirable social order than one with a homogeneous sameness. In this sense there seems to be some value in a position that declares ethnicity to be beautiful and provides identity, solidarity and legitimacy to groups traditionally subject to discrimination and vilification, largely on the basis of race or sex.

Cp as a vehicle for sustaining and supporting ethnic diversity seems peculiarly fitted to the task of adapting to new conditions in American society. On a positive note, cultural pluralists will argue that a devolution of power, leading to decentralization of political units, could lead to community or local control, a highly regarded bastion of democratic decision-making. Further, Cp may develop into a broader movement of cultural democracy by denying the narrower self-interest ends of ethnicity in favor of the ideals enunciated by Green; a result which would be the embodiment of cultural democracy.

Whether such possibilities constitute wishful thinking is the issue. Our modern, bureaucratic interdependent national state, with its great penetration into every citizen's private life in education, morality, housing, work, etc., generates the conditions which will either sustain the cultural pluralist's beliefs of realizing cultural democracy or will make of those beliefs a hollow mockery. If government, political parties, and the array of private institutions of American society organize themselves to deal formally and officially with individuals and groups on the basis of their ethnic background or some common bond of ethnicity, then it is

worth remembering that such blocs can be penalized as well as rewarded on the basis of a so-called common past, race, religion, or "bloodstream". We need only remember the precedents of European enmities as well as Blacks in the pre-1954 South, the Japanese-Americans on the West Coast during World War II, and so on. Do we really want government and the various institutions that have considerable power over our lives to act on the assumption that a common past, accent, religion, sex, or life-style generates common, even identical, interests and responses among individuals? To do so is to deny our basic individuality, a trait basic to the realization of democracy.

Ethnic groupings are not irrational, but ethnic demands couched in the language of uncompromising demands may be so. In this regard, it would behoove policy-makers to "clear up" in their minds the distinction between cultural relativism and ethnical relativism. Above all, it would behoove authorities to recognize Cp for what it is, namely, a vehicle promoting ethnic identity and goals as well as helping subsume ethnicity under the broader, more acceptable, rubric of cultural democracy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Harace M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924), p. 24.
2. Nathan Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America: From National Culture to Ideology," in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*. Edited by Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1954); Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, 1970); Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963); Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951); Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Harold Abramson, *Ethnic Pluralism in the Central City* (Storrs, Conn.): Institute for Urban Research of the University of Connecticut, 1970; Christopher Jencks, et. al., *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1972); Peter Rose (ed.), *Nation of Nations: The Ethnic Experience and the Racial Crisis* (New York: Random House, 1972); Peter Schrag, *The Decline of the Wasp* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971); Melvin Steinfield, *Cracks in the Melting Pot* (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1970).

3. Robert Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 52. (Italics in Original).
4. William M. Dobriner, *Class in Suburbia* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963; Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (New York: Free Press, 1962); See also Gans' *The Levittowners* (New York: Pantheon, 1967).
5. Michael Novak, a liberal Catholic intellectual of Slovak origin, regards ethnicity "as something larger than self." See *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnic* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971).
6. It seems that those groups who have been historically subject to discrimination, largely on the basis of race, have taken this negative situation and transformed it into a powerful weapon of positive action. Blacks, Hispanics, and others are declaring that ethnicity is "beautiful," not just aesthetically but politically. The force of this is seen insofar as "we the people" of the Constitution is reinterpreted to mean "we the peoples" or definable groups.
7. See Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, "Why Ethnicity," *Commentary*, Vol. 58, (October, 1974), p. 36.
8. Thomas F. Green. "Education and Pluralism: Ideal and Reality," Twenty-Sixth Annual J. Richard Street Lecture, Syracuse University School of Education, 1966), p. 11.
9. Michael Scriven, "Cognitive Moral Education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 61, No. 10, (June, 1975), p. 689-94. (Italics in original).
10. Norman Glazer, "Ethnicity and the Schools," *Commentary*, Vol. 58, (September, 1974), p. 58.
11. James W. Cornman and Keith Lehrer, *Philosophical Problems and Arguments: An Introduction* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1974), p. 432. (My italics).
12. *Ibid.*, p. 433.
13. *Ibid.*
14. William K. Frankena, *Ethics* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 93.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
17. *Ibid.*

Cultural Diversity and the Democratic Prospect

It is my intention in this paper to examine the unique challenge of forthcoming international circumstances to the traditional structure of our social associations, both ethnic and religious. I will also inquire into the ultimate democratic implications of this challenge. My contention is that unless this challenge is met by extremely thoughtful planning on the educational as well as the political level, we may witness a fateful erosion of what remaining cultural diversity that exists, and ultimately eviscerates the inner meaning of democratic life everywhere in this international order.

The position I take will be that cultural pluralism in its variety of tangible expressions—religious, ethnic, valuational—reflects no mere recidivistic remnant of the past; rather, it constitutes a real bulwark of freedom, even a protection for the continuance of civilizational life. An international system that is essentially culturally homogeneous will be an unstable structure. It is to our interest in the name of progress and self-renewal to encourage diversity, even limited cultural self-determination. Here, we will be presented with the paradoxical obligation to balance whole systems of values, to sail a course between the Scylla of universalism and rigidity and the Charybdis of diversity and fragmentation. We will need to do this knowing full well that any set of decisions we make holds out unpredictable consequences from either polarity. Ultimately, we must submit that social planning and educational design is subject to the unknowable parameters of human nature.

I

There is already a considerable literature on the subject of the future world crisis. The problems of demography, the depletion of natural resources, environmental pollution, food shortages,

even the threat of a changing world climate have been well detailed through a multitude of computer "read outs".¹ The various prognoses range from extremely serious to an ultimate disaster that is already determined. The time range in these predictions is from about twenty years hence to the middle of the twenty-first century.

There can be no doubt about the dangers. The controversies arise over the political and educational means needed to meet this challenge, a concern underlined by the fact that those in power would rather avoid disturbing the status quo. Also, we have lived for too long in an era of expansive optimism and of continuously rising expectations due to the almost unlimited powers of technology. There is, however, that chimerical hope that technology, as, for example, solar energy, will dissolve all the accumulated environmental debts we will soon have to repay.

Even today, we can see in the various nations and in an increasing number of international gatherings that there are moves to respond to challenges that do not merely affect national interest and survival, but in one way or another touch on the survival of the four billion people of our earth and the additional billions that will soon join us. Soon, we will have laws raising the state-sanctioned age of marriage, increasing trends leading to redistribution of private and even national wealth, regulation of pollution on international waterways, an almost unlimited set of laws, regulations, and treaties that will fix the peoples of the world into an attitude of preparedness for the survival struggle. Soon to come will possibly be food and energy rationing, enforced population control, greater police surveillance under which citizens have never in memory had to exist.

For a few decades, some parts of the world, so the Club of Rome tells us, will be free of the sharpest challenges of the crisis.² Eventually, all nations, whether they like it or not, will have to put their shoulders to the wheel. Whether in moral contrition or through the process of nuclear blackmail, the haves will give in to the demand that the plight of all be in some way shared.³

Intellectually, we can hope that the perception of the problem will be clearly seen in terms of instrumental approaches. We can whisper the hope that democratic processes will allow for a response that will be flexible and based on a good sense of the

realities of the situation as well as significant deference to a wide variety of psychological and cultural needs. On the other hand, one suspects and even fears that the magnitude of the problem, given a delay of the worst possibilities occurring as late as the mid-twenty-first century, will necessitate a rush of decisions and the consequent manipulation of the mass media such that we will have restructured the character of our public and private institutions.

Presumably, in answering to the clear danger from without, we will have risen to the challenge. The real threat to human freedom is that only the most obvious and superficial structural responses to such external dangers will have been taken, actions that merely mirror reversely those same universalistic patterns of social organization that have been implicit in the process of expansion. Those patterns of social organization have themselves brought us close to this crisis zone.

What may happen is not the mere elimination of physical, economic, or material diversity, and social heterogeneity, but the elimination of the basic institutional support for the cultural diversity that lies at the core of personal and communitarian identity and selfhood. It is not merely that universalism will sweep over the cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity of our planet because of a need to survive. Just as important is the fact that a traditional pattern of logical association of these value cores with recidivistic allegiances to the past will have allowed centralist tendencies to intimidate those who so believe, and with them the multitude of undecided and uncommitted.

One needs to review this fact of history rather than logic. For, it has been based upon an erroneous linking of historically conditioned relationships between religion, ethnicity, and certain socio-political institutions. It has allowed the ideologists of totalitarian societies as well as the apologists for the Western technocracies to get their way more peacefully than other "progressivists" in the past.

For example, the accidental fact that Italian immigrants to the United States in the late nineteenth century came from an almost feudal environment with allegiances both to a political as well as religious authoritarianism does not give one leave to conclude that Italians are poor candidates for membership in a

democratic polity, nor that their church is permanently beyond the pale of modernism. As matters of contemporary fact, the conclusions may be reasonable. But as extensions of logical reasoning, one cannot so root such a conclusion.

In fact, the idea of progress in the twentieth century was constructed on the base of belief that the old cultural and religious identities were anchored in a perception of human experience that was outmoded. In addition, the evidence was clear at hand that much of the human misery of that era lay in the fact that individuals could not extricate themselves from those value systems, beliefs that held them enthralled in a vision that conflicted with the instrumentalities of modernization.

From all sections of the world, whenever the political power structure was reoriented towards the ideals of scientific and bureaucratic modernization under the aegis of Marxist communism or Western democratic capitalism, institutional pressure was so directed through education as well as the *Gesellschaft* structure of society to undercut the traditional beliefs of the ordinary person.

At first, the modern outlook resonated with altruism, hope, and good will towards all classes of society. By pushing off the incubus of sectarianism, prejudice, and fear, by accepting the canons of modernity, the unification of mankind into larger democratic political forms, we could look forward to an era of rising expectations. And indeed, technology and the social apparatus of the modern industrial state did make good on its promises. The invincible tidal wave of westernization has extended itself to the horizon. There is no enclave where the impact of the transistor radio can be resisted. Like a magnet, the lure of the new pulls the masses in from the "bush" to the favellas, the shantytowns, the gutters of megalopolis, where the umbilical chord of traditional beliefs and allegiances is permanently severed.

II

It was during the great immigrations to the United States that the expression of concern for the cultural tradition of these immigrants was first heard. The early decades of the twentieth century saw the breaking of the cultural hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon gentry. The addition of millions of east and south Europeans, the first migration north into the cities of rural black

people brought about an awareness of the clash of traditions in the midst of unprecedented social and technological change.

The solutions proposed were varied. They ranged from the Anglo-Saxon national orthodoxy of those who wished to extirpate the traditions and values of the newcomers.⁴ If they could not dam the flow of immigrants from those very foreign shores, the nationalists argued, at the least, they could expect the institutions of socialization, especially the schools, to inculcate the old ideals, language, and behavior patterns. The nationalists looked backward to a more placid world. They were unaware that the tide that disgorged the immigrants was stirred by powerful scientific and economic forces that could not be contained.

More aware of the dynamic social movements were the "melting pot" advocates.⁵ Their vision of the new society was more accepting both of the immigrants and the new social dynamics. The "melting pot" saw a new American society issuing out of the old. This new society would be catalyzed by great dynamic movements and would result in a unique blend of all cultural and ethnic elements, a fusion and a reintegration of old and new. In the end, however, they believed that the demands of modernity required that a society be united to achieve both the technological and egalitarian political and economic goals of the century. Political unity was a desideratum. So was the existence of a public educational system that would help absorb the cultural elements that the immigrants brought with them. They expected that the new homogeneity that public education would bring about would contain elements that the immigrants themselves had contributed.

Of all the responses to the social changes of this period, the so-called cultural pluralists made the most interesting intellectual claims. They did not harken back to the equilibrium of the nineteenth century—they clearly rejected the use of our institutions to return our culture to a tradition that had long disappeared—nor did they accept the casual optimism of the melting pot. In fact, cultural homogeneity was anathema to Horace Kallen, the leading thinker of the movement.⁶

The cultural pluralists, who among others included Isaac B. Berkson, drew much of their philosophical inspiration from the American pragmatic movement.⁷ In one respect, however, they departed from the pragmatic approach to social consensus. Both

James and Dewey, especially the latter, saw science leading towards a new democratic consensus. Both Kallen and Berkson rejected the universalistic model of society, which is identified with the logical claims of scientific law and its ideal of "always and everywhere".

Because of the structure of human society, so the pluralist contention went, certain aspects of social behavior, belief, and values are not subsumable to the universal model. Kallen held to a quasi-Jamesian metaphysical pluralism. The world is diverse, structured such that a variety of value systems can exist, equally plausible for viewing the psychic identity of man. As such, they cannot be easily transformed into a unity imposed by external social processes. Often, Kallen would hint that the depth of traditional values was linked in some mysterious way with the blooded identities of ethnic and religious communities.

He therefore objected strenuously to the social unification approach that issued from the melting pot theorists as well as the Deweyan pragmatists. And yet he was influenced enough by the instrumental approach to social problems of this group that he joined many of its liberal causes to advance the conditions of the lower classes. Kallen felt that the attempt to use these powerful institutions of society, especially the schools, as instruments of cultural homogenization was an inherently undemocratic dimension of the liberal vision.

Berkson, too, was suspicious of the melting pot togetherness, with its specious democratic rhetoric of unity and integration. He was more committed than Kallen to a dynamic view of cultural evolution and the status of ethnic minorities. While he felt that the cultural minorities were an important resource to any society and that cultural pluralism was a right of communities, he was more permissive about the evolution of these communities in times of change. Cultural communities had come into being and had disappeared. What was essential was that each of these groups remain uncoerced in deciding its own particular destiny.

As long as the institutions of a society— government, education, business, and labor— exerted no force one way or another, it would be acceptable to perceive members of certain communities abandoning these value commitments and making other associations. Some groups might have a more intense commitment and

would thereby survive as distinct cultural enclaves. The key element in Berkson's analysis was that freedom was predicated on a lack of coercion.

The theory of cultural pluralism, in its first promulgation in the 1920's, enunciated a new view of social democracy. It questioned the ultimate extent of any universalistic intellectual or social ideal that results in the extirpation of alternative centers of value or culture. For the first time, we heard in the heartland of a politically unified democracy (unlike the Austrian Empire, which had absorbed diverse national and ethnic groups into its imperial hegemony) the argument that, even under the most libertarian political circumstances, cultural rights of self-determination also were to be considered important democratic values.

Unfortunately, the tremendous assimilative powers of the industrial machine, the unifying pressures of economic and military survival, brought the pluralistic debate to a standstill, at least in the United States. When it was raised again, it was in the context of the emergence of the new "colored" minorities. In the 1960's, as a result of unprecedented attempts to redeem the discriminatory practices of the past by opening up new economic and social opportunities, members of these new minorities attempted to exercise some intellectual self-determination over this process. The more acceptable integrationist and assimilationist views were countered by nationalistic and purportedly pluralistic advocates, who like the earlier pluralists attempted to carve out a realm of distinctiveness for their group.

But the difficulty in articulating a pluralistic position based on philosophically rooted assertions of the nature of such claims, difficulties that were echoed in Horace Kallen's "blood is thicker than water" metaphor, was impactful here too. The black community had much less of its original "negritude" intact than, for example, the Italian immigrant of an earlier generation. In addition, these minorities wanted special economic and political advantages to accompany their ethnic claims.

Ultimately, this fact—the lack of emphasis on protecting unique cultural-ethnic values from assimilation and at the same time the advancement of special economic and political claims—cancelled out the seeming resurgence of pluralistic discussions. Yet, it should be stated that, as the power of a transnational set

of institutions grew geometrically in this powerful United States, from various parts of the nation, from various communities, all well integrated into the socio-economic fabric, there was expression of a consciousness of ethnic roots, an awareness of the need for more pluralism in society. At the same there existed a sense of impotence as to how the institutional structure might be breached so as to achieve it.⁸

III

It is understandable when we look to the past and even at the present and perceive the horrors of religious, ethnic, and language conflict that we should be wary of a world of such diversity. Invariably, when issues such as these have been in dispute and have been translated into political and military conflict, the results have been savage.⁹ These are the conflicts that seem to elicit the most unrestrained cruelties. How progressive it would then seem to transcend such a past of differences that divide, for a future in which scientific rationalism can unite peoples in a world that thrives within the technological and commercial guidelines exemplified in the West since World War II.

Were it likely that such an optimistic trend could endure—a world of undifferentiated pleasantness predicated on worldly success—one would not weep about the demise of cultural diversity. Mankind can do without the barbarities of sectarianism. But the undifferentiated greyness of our already formed commercial civilization gives one pause. Especially potent are the ominous trends of tomorrow in which those very institutions that have fostered the modernization of the world will be tested by challenges never yet faced. The pressures for conformity, for lock step discipline merely to survive will be inexorable. We may thus reject the abandonment of the pluralistic communities, look back with nostalgia to an era when new values, ideals, creative impulses could find their way gradually into the minds and hearts of people, without, as today, being immediately translated into the arena of political contestation.

The logical question is whether an argument can be made for cultural pluralism without the seeming atavistic associations of the past. Is that hungering for cultural identity that we see throughout the world merely the reflection of certain deficiencies

in the lives of people which technology, science, and modernization will overcome? Or is this searching a reflection of something more basic in human nature? It is my view that the pluralism we find in cultural values is not an accident. Not only is pluralism basic to human thought and behavior, but extirpated by the irresistible dynamic of modernization it could come back to haunt these universalistic societies by rendering them unstable, subject to irrational and uncontrollable social and ideological trends, as people search to find surcease from intellectual monotony or from a totalitarian control over their symbolic meanings and values.

As has been shown by Ernst Cassirer and Susanne Langer, the view that cultural and religious diversities are hangovers from the past is due to an incorrect logical analysis of the meaning of scientific truths.¹⁰ Cassirer once stated that scientific reason always tends towards universality: truth is always universal. He demonstrated in his philosophy of symbolic forms that science is a result of symbolic thinking. Rather than scientific law reflecting a supposed objective and unvarying structure of "reality," a "reality" that necessarily will have changed over the centuries as scientific law changes, science can reasonably be understood as a manifestation of a symbolic proclivity in man. It is a constructive entity rather than a descriptive one. Ultimately, science tells us as much about human thought as it does about the world.

Further, both Cassirer and Langer argued that there are other realms of symbolic expression that are constructive, constitutive of human experience in as fundamental a manner as is scientific thought, yet expressed with other intentional purposes. Thus, we can see in common sense language, poetry, myth, ritual, music, and religious thought cores of symbolic meaning by which man orders social experience and creates the rich fabric of cultural life that is his heritage.

Susanne Langer divided the two realms into discursive (or logical and universal thought) and nondiscursive (or presentational symbolism). The latter does not constitute a realm of irrationality, but rather a realm where thought expresses itself through emotional, perceptual, and other valences. Out of the chaos of sensory experience, the mind constructs cores of meaning

that are diverse qualitatively and thus logically. These varied symbolic forms, as Cassirer called them, exist side by side as pillars of the human world. Some have the power of moving mountains, of reshaping our physical world through the logical implications in these universal spatial and temporal experiences. Others sear the heart with a power to order and discipline emotion or sociality.

The error Cassirer warned us about was to ignore the particular psychological and logical domain of each symbolic form. In his *The Myth of the State*, he described the translation of the ancient sources of symbolic behavior, the fears of nature and the universe expressed in myth, as extended into the modern social system, interdicting what we scientifically understood about man and society.¹¹ The myth of race and super-race, the genocidal march under the banners of ritual by which the Nazis swamped the reasoning of a sophisticated German people is evidence of the dangers inherent in ignoring the realm of nondiscursive symbolism. It is also evidence of the need for a larger philosophical perspective on culture as a whole, as well as an educational regimen to train ourselves to be sensitive to the entire scope of social experience.

Just as the Nazis undermined secular scientific rationality by exploding suppressed mythological fears and anxieties onto the surface of modern political culture, so, too, with the suppression of the diverse cultural instincts of man the solid fabric of rational institutionalism could be opened to a corrosion from below that might be as destructive and as painful to a world society as was the recent horror of fascism. The need is to understand the nature of these diverse symbolic forms, to relate each to the other in the functioning of a modern society, and ultimately to plan out a structure of social life that would guarantee its own symbolic regeneration.

IV

The problem of democracy thus becomes germane to the challenges of a future world society from this larger cultural perspective. The usual political and economic view of the function of an egalitarian democracy implies the kind of universalistic application of a calculus to atomistic individuals, each individual receiving an equal and undifferentiated portion of the social pie.

This perception of the outcome of a democratic society is an extrapolation of the eighteenth century vision of *laissez faire* individualism.

The Enlightenment political emancipation of individuals from the restraints of the medieval corporations and their hierarchical controls contained no specific vision of equal economic shares. It was based on the assumption that intelligent members of a political community would attain their varied social and economic goals, given individual effort, persistence, and rationality. The growth of vast institutional wealth and a dependent industrial population has turned this ideal around.

Political democracy thus has increasingly tended towards considering control of the governmental apparatus as merely a means towards a general economic policy of distribution or redistribution of the fruits of the scientific industrial machine. With the passage of time and the tearing up of most traditional and cultural roots, this image of man as an economic, consuming being has been fulfilled. Rarely articulated were the commitments to civilizational refinements or a set of religio-cultural beliefs. The communication czars churn out a steady propagandistic diet of pre-digested "consumer culture," which in its superficiality has flattened the potential for in-depth cultural explorations.

The argument for the extension of democratic rights from the purely political domain to the social and economic was predicated on the preservation of the political union itself. New historical conditions have since intruded themselves into the free association of individuals protected within the relaxed Enlightenment era political contexts. Individual will and effort were no longer decisive. Society itself would have to enter on the side of the lowly.

In the process of protecting the state from internal dislocation, of putting limits on exploitation and power accumulation by individuals, the state transformed itself into a great social machine. Even as it preserved social and economic benefits, balanced against industrial efficiency and expansion, it rolled over ethnic and religious communities. As in all forms of progress, certain freedoms were gained at the expense of others. In the West, as in the eastern totalitarian societies, the evening out of economic and social differences and the changes in preception

effected by a secular scientific methodology undermined the integrity of culturally traditional patterns of behavior.

The result, as the symbolic philosophers noted, was that a vast realm of symbolic expression was relegated epistemologically to the nether world. And with this relegation, so too a vast realm of human needs and forms of expression was undercut and bypassed. The democratic perspective had rendered moot the idea of cultural freedom. Yet, one cannot but notice that the terrible instability of the modern world, its restlessness, its occasional psycho-social and political breakdowns can be traced as much to unknown factors in the social fabric as they can to tangible material causes.

Even while this condition of social instability and unease remains, the great changes of the future loom before us. These external challenges to human survival demand enormous discipline, organization, and structure. The regulation of our lives, which has already taken on such an extensive character in relatively benign times of expansion, will become ominous in an era of retrenchment and equilibrium.

The coercive techniques of education utilized in the overtly totalitarian nations are not dissimilar to those in the democratic consumer societies. Only in the former, the restrictive range of any thinking about human values, ideals, or self-determination is extremely circumscribed. One needs to observe these nations closely. For, as they develop technologically, demand higher level skills of their people in the production, service and distribution areas of the industrial system, given the impact of their intellectual and cultural restrictions, the inevitable subversion will be manifested here first.

The democratic prospect of social and economic equality largely achieved in the greyness of the "iron" state may itself have to be transformed into a new, yet largely forgotten, set of freedoms. Cultural democracy may thus become the next frontier of historical advance. It may become so for two reasons. One is that all societies need a sense of mission, a horizon against which any form of progress must be measured. Cultural innovations, since they do not touch heavily on the organization of the tangible, material aspects of society, would make few demands on the structural arrangements in economic class structure. At a

time when there can be little else but equalization downward in terms of material satisfactions of the old sort, the opening up of innovative possibilities in terms of the nondiscursive realm of symbolic thought may offer some exhilarating possibilities.

Cultural freedom has a second possibility for the "global equilibrium society" that is to come. This involves the essential fragility of the managerial society of today and the super-disciplined society that will be our fate tomorrow. We must agree with Robert Heilbroner that few differences will in the long run exist between the West and the Marxist East.¹² In the space of even half a century, both ideological extremes will no doubt approach each other, the West moving closer to the eastern authoritarian model as the challenges of population, food, and natural resources, supply and distribution become critical burdens of the policy-making area.

The heavy weight of social and legal regulation, the awful burden of vast populations that must be fed and entertained to keep the peace, the necessity to buffer extremes of wealth and privilege through redistribution, all this will tax the capacity of well-functioning international order. Unless we begin to account for the internal psycho-cultural stability of these populations, we may find ourselves attempting to regulate what cannot be regulated: chaotic masses under the spell of mythic ideologies. To discipline human beings demands the internalization by these populations of the principles underlying the external regulations. After so many centuries of relative openness and expansiveness, it will be difficult to persuade people to behave well for long (even the regulators could throw in their lot with the regulated) unless they are offered tangible avenues for human expression.

The Orwellian and Huxleyan anti-Utopians put too much emphasis on the efficacy of the systems of controls. One can only plan aspects of man's social world when other aspects are left undetermined. Even the current manipulation of the communications systems in both West and East has yet to demonstrate its efficacy in brainwashing the masses. The people are relatively optimistic. Their accommodation with these mindshaping institutions is one of parallel assent. They do agree with the hopes expressed in the propaganda. Let the propaganda attempt to persuade the people away from their self-interest, and it is doubt-

ful that such indoctrination could succeed.

Thus, the ideal of cultural pluralism becomes a central pillar to the hope that we could rationally confront tomorrow's challenges, creating a stable world system embracing in the next half century, at least seven to ten billion people. Cultural diversity in those softer domains of society will imply the existence of a measure of self-determination and freedom.

V

Within this span of years, it will become crucial for all nations in the world to explore the dimensions within which the unifications and interdependencies of society can be balanced by freedom and indeterminacy in important realms of human expression. It is not enough merely to advocate the right of freedom of expression to influence those larger policies. Surely, in a world exploring the most rational approach to the challenge of civilizational life, long and articulate debate over ideal and policy is important. But these kinds of freedoms are instrumental; they lead to action and policy planning on a vast range of human aspects. Even the most monolithic societies, such as the Soviet Union, have learned of the danger of lack of debate over policy, as once occurred under Stalin. Even in the Politburo, a circumscribed domain of policy actions is still subject to vigorous controversy.

During the height of the counter culture in the 1960's, rationality, scientism, the entire world of instrumental thought and action were condemned. We have subsequently learned that only a few are willing to reject the amenities of advanced civilization and retreat to a monastic existence. Even there, someone must work for a living. It is a rare individual who has tasted of civilization and a modest affluence who can go back to simpler, more brutish conditions of life.

A philosophy that upholds the principle of cultural diversity as one of those basic democratic rights of man, and that at the same time allows members of all ethnic, religious, cultural groups access to the more public domains, will do much to defuse the potentially explosive force of those symbolic capacities. These factors need to be given free rein to express themselves within the social community in terms of their own unique instrumental

designs. What we would hope to plan for is a world where man can live within a two-tiered awareness of his dual needs: (1) a disciplined rationality leading to concrete social actions geared towards solving the physical challenges of the decades, (2) a realm of cultural diversity and pluralism in those secondary areas of culture, religion, ethnicity, the arts, and social ritual.

The question is, of course, what will happen when discursive rationality dictates certain action, and varying religious commitments argue for other actions based on more traditional or metaphysical sources of belief? Here is where the problem of education intrudes. Sigmund Freud, when confronted with the truth of raw, even mean, yet irresistible demands of human nature, argued for the importance of self-knowledge. The more we understand about the dual urgings of our makeup—of subterranean drives and the mechanisms of ego, the more we will be able to resist the most uncompromising demands of each dimension. Freud felt that reason could find at least a tentative path along this precarious cliff of human nature.

Just as the psychoanalytic regimen is a form of rigorous self-education, so, too, the process of formal education in understanding the structure and dynamics of symbolic thought and culture needs to be explored. The more we understand about ourselves, the more we will be able to avoid the worst sorts of social policymaking and preserve the real advances of civilization, thus avoiding the extremes of social disorganization and deterioration on the one hand and the penal colony forms of society of which we have so many examples even today.

If one were to wager which of these two extremes would be the most probable fate of mankind, given an ultimate prognosis, it would be the former. As Lewis Mumford illustrated in his *The Myth of the Machine*, history has demonstrated often enough that feudal chaos is the inheritor of the errors of over-organization in the machine societies, as exemplified in Pharaonic Egypt and Imperial Rome.¹³ And it is these disorganized, decentralized contexts that constitute the stuff of civilization itself, human actions working freely on the material and ideals of spontaneous social living. Here is the informal locus for new beginnings, new hopes, and usually new cultural forms of expression.

The link between the ideal of cultural diversity and the

democratic prospect has been established not in terms of an ideal world that we would wish to inhabit, but rather in the light of unsavory decisions that a world in crisis will soon have to make. The argument is that cultural diversity that is planned for, so as to be expressed in unplanned ways, is not a luxury for an ideal future society. Rather, cultural diversity may be a key element in the survival of the present international world order itself. Its importance in the pantheon of man's symbolic capacities gives evidence to a claim against society itself of a democratic right of substance as well as procedure. Cultural self-determination, along with social and economic self-determination, because of its newly rediscovered importance for man, may loom as a potent issue on the international scene. Those in power, who have concern for the health of this larger community of peoples should listen carefully to these claims.

VI

Let us look beyond the crisis of the immediate future. In a world that has come to terms with its physical challenges and limitations, what status will cultural pluralism have? Cultural diversity is not a random phenomenon in humankind. It is pervasive. But there have been periods of great universal dynamic trends wherein certain cultural patterns have inundated neighboring ones. These universalistic trends have been alternately linguistic, scientific, religious, cultural, ethnic, or in combination, as during the Roman hegemony in the ancient world. In our own day, while scientific patterns in the technological disciplines and social outlook are pervasive, the English language comes close to being a unifying force. However, this universal pattern of thought and action is not incompatible with the use of other languages, or even other ethnic and religious points of view, as long as those patterns recede into the private world of individuals and are not socially instrumental.

To think about a future without horrendous physical challenges is to think about a world in some equilibrium. Under conditions of slow change, cultures do pluralize and sometimes in a radically centrifugal manner. One would speculate that efforts—educational, communications, etc.—will have to be made periodically to reintegrate the varying cultural symbol systems of the world. When we consider the vast improvements of techniques

in communication and transportation, limits on random diversification can be maintained. At this point in history, it is well worth considering the relationship of these symbolic elements that make up the dynamic of culture and thus the basic structure of human expression.

The basic stuff of culture is symbolic creativity. All cultures change. This source of cultural innovation cannot be put at the feet of environmental or external stimulus. There is little in human history that can be ascribed to raw external stimulus or inhibition. The symbol producing process works its way into spoken language, ceramic design, into the shape of fish-nets, or a ritual dance of mourning. Change is ineluctable. It is a natural propensity of human beings. Working on the softer aspects of culture—language, song, belief, behavior—the innovative dynamic of symbolic thought is clearer and shows marked diversification.

Functional artifacts, however, are instrumental. Objects not only resist the radical innovative thrust of symbolic innovation, but the manner in which practical problems are thereby solved tends to be similar. Thus we have evidence for the "why" of some aspects of the universal vector of technological culture.

To the extent that the external substance of things and relations is buttressed by established rules, regulations, laws, the way we order our environment, these particular solutions solidify themselves into practice and act to inhibit subsequent change and diversification. But no system of external relations, whether it is of a technological or a political order, is ever permanently fixed. Its character changes as much because of the internal thrust of innovation in culture as because of the external changes in nature. Eventually, all fixed patterns either are rejuvenated through major cultural reconstructions or else they must eventually be thrown over.

The solution to a stable symbol system in any culture, world-wide or local, is to balance the rapid with the more slowly changing cores of symbolism as they interact dynamically within a culture. Thus, the need for diversification and innovation, especially in the softer, smaller, more intimate dimensions of sociality is of course more crucial. The evidence of man's struggle against oppression in language, religion, and art exemplifies the

deep attachments he has to these forms of expression. No culture is infinitely heterogeneous. Culture is all of a fabric, a diversity within a unity. Innovation in the arts will have its influence in politics and technology just as these latter in their own periodic dynamic advances have made their mark on art and religion.

It is reasonable then to argue that a world society that cherishes a modicum stability, security, and peace be balanced by entertaining a certain amount of dynamic innovation. The old image of culture as an alloy of elements or as a series of links, separate and discontinuous, but connected as in a chain, is suggestive. The changes in one domain of this world community have their opportunity to be digested, evaluated, and integrated, even as they are communicated outward to other symbolic communities.

The waves of innovation begin at various points in this world structure. But because communities pluralize at different foci in the culture— religion, art, ritual, crafts, etc.— the impact of innovation is buffered, slowed down to maintain the basic integrity of the world system. Power is diversified, great accumulations are prevented because of decentralization. Unsuccessful patterns of cultural behaviour are not automatically communicated throughout the structure. Thus, the international polity can be preserved and regenerated.

Unity in diversity is the theme. The symbolics of the varying cultural forms constitute the architectonics. Only out of this union of pluralities that make up humankind can we expect to function long. To the extent that all individuals have the political, economic, and social power to express their individual perceptions and idiosyncracies, cultural diversification becomes a natural law of historical evolution. It is rooted in an intrinsic capacity of human thought, and as such its expression becomes of primary value to social existence. Freedom of cultural expression and initiative, therefore, harmonizes with the democratic spirit.

FOOTNOTES

1. D. H. Meadows et al., *The Limits to Growth*, (New York: Universe Books, 1972).

2. Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point : The Second Report of the Club of Rome*, (New York : E. P. Dutton, 1974).
3. Robert Heilbroner, *An Enquiry Into the Human Prospect*, (New York : W. W. Norton, 1974).
4. Henry P. Fairchild, *The Melting Pot Mistake*, (Boston : Little Brown and Company, 1926) ; Elwood Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States*, (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1919).
5. Israel Zangwill, *The Melting Pot*, (New York. 1909).
6. Horace M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States*, (New York : Boni & Liveright, 1924).
7. Isaac B. Berkson, *Theories of Americanization*, (New York : Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920) ; Seymour W. Itzkoff, "The Sources of Cultural Pluralism," *Educational Theory*, Vol. 26, Spring 1976, 231-233.
8. Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, (New York : Macmillan, 1973).
9. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, (Boston : Beacon Press, 1955).
10. Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, (New Haven : Yale University Press, 3 vol., 1953-57) ; Susanne Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*. (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1942).
11. Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1946),
12. Robert Heilbroner, op. cit.
13. Lewis Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine*, (New York : Harcourt Brace, 1966).

Cultural Pluralism: Must we know what we mean?

Recent appeals and their corresponding responses in socio-political and educational realms suggest the United States, ostensibly through its educational system, is about to embrace a new social ideal—cultural pluralism.¹ Thus, William Greenbaum, in his essay on the rise of pluralism, describes the decline of Protestant domination and its assimilationist position and recommends support of pluralistic institutions and communities that at once have a diversity as a way of maintaining unity and contribute to the developing of a new universal ideal able to shape and guide social as well as educational policy.²

The justification of a search for such an ideal seems well founded. Greenbaum suggests that a "lack of higher purpose is particularly excruciating for Americans. More than most societies the United States is extremely dependent on having an ideal sense of the future."³ Furthermore, "before we can really say who we were or who we are, we must decide what it is we want to be" ⁴ This thesis seems to be consistent with recent revisionist approaches to educational history.⁵ The position is further reinforced when Itzkoff states, "..... some intellectual patterns have been considered and abandoned as we have gradually blundered into our present dilemma. The philosophy of cultural pluralism is one such pattern. It is an approach to social organization that is useful to study both as a revelation of the past and as a possible guide for the future."⁶

Ideals, then, seem to have the potential to guide and evaluate our social development. Yet, as philosophic analysis has so poignantly demonstrated, when the ideal is expressed as a broad and ambiguous concept its effectiveness is severely reduced. Thus,

to enhance the usefulness of the concept of cultural pluralism, it is the purpose of this paper to illustrate some of the ambiguity of the concept, to suggest three categories in which current discussion on the topic might fall, and, finally, to suggest that there may be some advantage in limiting the precision with which we use the concept.

I. AMBIGUITY

"Pluralism" is broad and sweeping in its application. While it suggests heterogeneity and diversity, the term itself does not dictate the criteria for establishing the conditions to be considered as diversity. Because we may consider race, religion, ethnicity, geography, age, sex, vocation, education, or any one of another set of qualities or combination of qualities as evidence of pluralism, the same population may be considered homogeneous for one set of purposes and pluralistic for yet another.⁷ The context in which the discussion occurs, however, often provides the clarification for effective communication. Because our present context is that of cultural pluralism, the discussion would seem to be considerably tightened. Pluralism based solely on sex, height, hair color, or other physical characteristics, for example, would be irrelevant to "cultural" pluralism. Only to the extent that they serve as cultural focal points would they be significant. Similarly, social pluralism⁸ and democratic pluralism⁹ would be broader notions than cultural pluralism for they imply social, political, economic, and environmental, as well as religious, racial, ethnic, and cultural distinctions. This narrowing and limiting, however, may be misleading. As the above phrase suggests, "culture" itself is not a finite term. Often it is not clear whether the discussion is about religion, race, ethnicity, or some other set of qualities. Indeed, ethnographers study all sorts of groups identified as subcultures. One may study the culture of a cocktail lounge, kitchen, high school classroom, or the Polynesian Tipopia, African Bantu, or the Hopi of the Southwestern United States.¹⁰

It might be noted that such a broad classification is not without its advantages. If we were to adopt such a policy, it would be possible to consider interest groups and communities based on age, sex, and geography, as well as race, religion, and ethnicity, under the heading of cultural pluralism. This usage is found wanting, however, inasmuch as it seems to miss the main

point raised by Black Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and certain other ethnic groups. Culture is discussed by these groups in terms of the more traditional anthropological sense. Because "subculture" has the tendency to distract from current race problems, some authors have suggested that our main concern should be with "ethnic" pluralism and not "cultural" pluralism.¹¹ Ethnicity in this sense is understood to designate any group set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories which serve to create, through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood.¹²

The distinction between ethnic pluralism and cultural pluralism may be a useful one. It allows one to focus attention on those groups of differing national origin (cultural characteristics) and avoids the inevitable digression resulting from the discussion of other types of groups. One is quick to notice, however, that even this refined criteria is subject to a variety of applications. Contemporary discussion varies considerably expanding from distinguishable classifications of "white" and "people of color,"¹³ to the common Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, and Asian,¹⁴ to white ethnics¹⁵ and finally, to groups such as Texans and Mormons.¹⁶

Furthermore, ethnic and cultural characteristics will not always correlate. Gordon, for example, describes much of the population in the United States as being behaviorally assimilated.¹⁷ That is, while groups might be distinguished ethnically, there is little difference in life style and/or world perceptions. Similarly, sociological literature suggests that one's socioeconomic position is often a better predictor of an individual's orientation than one's ethnicity. Thus, upper-middle-class blacks tend to have more in common with upper-middle-class whites than with their counterparts from the lower socioeconomic positions. In the same manner, we can expect to find major differences between a Mexican American migrant farm worker and a Mexican American from a South western mining town, and between an urban Indian working in a steel mill and a traditional reservation Indian. One's ethnicity, then, may not be an accurate indicator of one's belief system or life style. (Belief system and life style seem to be more consistent with the concept of culture, while national origin with the concept of ethnicity.) If this is the case, cultural

pluralism may be a pluralism of world perceptions and life styles, while ethnic pluralism may not.¹⁸

The above suggests some initial difficulties in identifying the types of groups to be considered in a theoretical analysis of pluralism. We shall not consider this problem further here, but will return to it later. We turn now to the problems of developing a more precise meaning of "pluralism". We shall consider the form we would expect a culturally pluralistic society to take.

II. CATEGORIES OF USAGE

The discussion of cultural pluralism in contemporary literature can, on the basis of its function, be placed into one of three categories of usage : (1) slogans, (2) descriptive usage, and (3) ideological usage.

Slogans

Komisar and McClellan instruct us that slogans may be understood in the following manners :¹⁹

1. They intend to arouse interest, incite enthusiasm, and achieve a unity of feeling and spirit.
2. At times they summarize and prescribe certain behaviors.
3. They are systematically ambiguous until the ambiguity is eliminated through a process of arbitrary delimitation of meaning.
4. They may be distinguished from generalizations in that they do not logically imply particular behaviors or propositions, but merely becomes connected or attached to a more or less clearly specified group of proposals, together with definitions and empirical evidence used as argument in favor of the proposals made.

It seems apparent that much of the literature on cultural pluralism functions in this way. On the one hand, statements such as "cultural pluralism, a mandate for change," "education for cultural pluralism," and "no one model American" clearly fall within these stated criteria. But the more lengthy prose on cultural pluralism fall within these guidelines as well. We find a general appeal for equality, cultural sensitivity, and the recognition of diversity ; yet no specific set of proposals logically follow. Consider the following examples :

"It is our view, then, that the school in the American setting, and the educational process more generally, must adapt to cultural conditions. Given the existence of varying cultural traditions, and assuming that a setting's institutions are formal and enduring manifestations of local culture, then the school and the educational process must formally adjust to extant pluralism, if they are to retain their institutional character.

Moreover, not only must education itself adapt to cultural pluralism, it must educate the young for cultural pluralism. This latter task necessarily involves revision of not only educational technology and organization, but the ideology as well."²⁰

"Cultural pluralism involves the mutual exchange of cultural content and respect for different views of reality and conceptions of man. Pluralism assumes that ethnic groups have the right to preserve their cultural heritage and also to contribute to American civil life."²¹

"The concept of cultural pluralism must include basic ideas of equal opportunity for all people, respect for human dignity, and the power to control the significant environment and psychological forces impinging on people."²²

These statements have common features which correlate with the conditions set forth by Komisar and McClellan. They clearly intend to focus one's attention on matters related to cultural diversity. Furthermore, if adopted, they will logically exclude certain behaviors, namely discrimination and exploitation based on cultural differences, and the rejection of assimilationists' ideology (where assimilation is understood to mean Anglo conformity). While some alternatives are logically excluded, however, the statements are systematically ambiguous in as much as they do not specify a particular form of pluralism. If they are to have a guiding value, they must be delimited by the adopting of more particular behaviors or propositions.

Descriptive Usage

These ambiguities have left some uneasy. In an attempt to clarify and facilitate precision within the concept, some authors have turned to a descriptive analysis. The descriptive analyses of

cultural pluralism are generally one of two types: (1) the theoretical framework of the social sciences, and (2) the neutral descriptions of analytic philosophers. In the social science sense, a theoretical description entails "a set of related propositions that may explain how a phenomenon has arrived historically, how it works or what its meaning is empirically, and, under given circumstances, what one may expect in the future."²³ Such a description intends to be objective and value free. It does not intend to suggest how things ought to be, but rather how they are.²⁴ Typically this has been the approach of Glezer and Moynihan, Gordon, Newman, Greeley, and other students of American ethnicity. In the most general descriptive sense, all a society need exhibit to qualify as culturally pluralistic is cultural diversity.²⁵ That the United States is such a society is painfully obvious and this recognition has been the starting point for the theoretical descriptions undertaken by those noted above. Recently there has been a rapidly expanding body of literature in this area in an attempt to offer a more sophisticated analysis of American pluralism. However, since this body of literature is not particularly troublesome and because our intent is not to review the literature but to acknowledge its existence and function, we shall not investigate these further, rather the reader is referred to the primary sources.

The second descriptive approach has been a movement to explicate the concepts philosophically. Recognizing the development of theories by the social sciences as informative and necessary, philosophic analyses have attempted to compliment such works by analyzing and classifying the key concepts themselves. Green²⁶ and Pratte²⁷ are two notable examples. Green suggests three ideal types (in the Weberian sense of ideal) of pluralism: insular pluralism, halfway pluralism, and structural assimilation. Noting certain variables within the social structure of each type, he suggests halfway pluralism as that most consistent with the popular usage of cultural pluralism.

Pratte, in the style of language analysis, notes that in ordinary usage we distinguish between cultural pluralism and such labels as culturally diverse, culturally heterogeneous, and culturally different. He suggests, first, that cultural pluralism implies a positive evaluative connotation, and, secondly, that while cultural pluralism

requires cultural diversity, it also implies certain conditions of social organization among the constituent groups ; namely, equality and a minimum level of interaction.²⁸

As with the social science descriptions, this body of literature is not particularly troublesome and, consequently, shall not be presented in detail. Again, we note the existence and function of such writings and refer the reader to the primary sources. We turn now to the more controversial domain of ideological usage.

Ideological Usage

We are told by the social scientists that the United States has always been and will continue to be pluralistic. And slogans have appealed for the adoption of a new set of conditions to guide interaction among culturally different populations. Yet neither provide the concrete policies able to guide or evaluate the new interaction called for. Thus, with this recognition, much discussion has turned to the construction of such an ideal.

Ideology, unlike the theoretical descriptions above, does not purport to be an objective neutral analysis. Rather it attempts to describe and/or legitimate the way things ought to be and, by its very nature, contains a distinguishable evaluative and judgmental element. Because it is not bound by strict content or methodological parameters, the models presented tend to vary considerably among themselves. As would be expected, then, ideological expressions of cultural pluralism show a wide range of diversity. For example, Pettigrew, effectively destroying the "myths" of segregation, builds a strong case for an integrated school system, if not society.²⁹ Glazer³⁰ and Banks³¹ similarly imply a society with a high degree of interaction among cultural and ethnic groups. Indeed, in the following quote, Glazer seems to play down the significance of ethnicity and suggests the need for a common culture. "We want still to engage in the work of the creation of a single and distinct and unique nation, and this requires that the preponderant part of our attention should be to the common culture."³²

At the other end of the continuum, Sizemore's writings lead us in the direction of separatism.³³ She bases her position on the belief that if we are to escape the control and manipulation of one dominant ethnic group which has historically characterized the American scene, the various groups must negotiate from a position

of relative parity. Sizemore argues that the development of group identity and cohesion, and a secure economic base necessary for this attainment, requires a period of separation and autonomy.³⁴

Positions between these extremes, as well as alternatives expanding the concept of cultural pluralism, are offered by other authors. Itzkoff presents a model based on small relatively autonomous and voluntary communities which control their own educational systems. "A child," Itzkoff argues, "should be taught by educated adults of his own cultural background and in the language in which his self-identification has been made."³⁵ Novak echoes this same voluntary yet basic nature of ethnicity. "Ethnicity is not to be conceived, in our conditions, as a merely primordial, fateful, and tribal bond. On the contrary, it can be freely chosen, developed as part of a multi-cultural competence, and rooted rather in the socially aware individual, than in the unthinking group."³⁶ Pratte, arguing that the concept of cultural pluralism is too narrow, suggests a model that assumes the necessity of cultural diversity, but moves beyond cultural subgroup association to continuously emergent groups which form over matters of shared concerns in the context of ever-changing social, economic, and political conditions.³⁷ The task for Pratte is "to go beyond the special interests of cultural subgroups to the forming of a public as the result of a mutual concern for a problematic situation This position may be called 'dynamic pluralism'. It begins with the existence of cultural subgroups with a ready agenda of politics and values to buttress the individual in a problematic situation, but moves beyond this situation to the forming of publics or factions through which people give concrete expression to a multiplicity of different, even incompatible values."³⁸

Ideological alternatives, then, vary from the liberation of minorities to an open voluntary ethnicity based upon a strong common culture, and finally, to the expansion of the concept to a more encompassing "dynamic pluralism". While, with the completion of this section of the paper, we have noted certain ambiguities in the concept and have distinguished among certain functions of usage, we do not seem to be any closer to the establishment of a guiding ideal. As I will argue, however, there may be advantages in not seeking precision.

III. APPLICATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The ability to distinguish among the three general categories of usage will provide a framework for interpreting the literature. Each usage serves a different function and, accordingly, must be treated in a different manner. Descriptive usage presents the fewest problems. Inasmuch as they purport to be neutral and objective, they may be verified by appropriate research. In fact, by analyzing, explaining, and predicting events, by clarifying alternatives, and by explicating the usage of pertinent concepts, we are able to make more intelligent decisions as to the course of action desired. Slogans, too, have a role. While they are ambiguous, they tend to focus our attention on social concerns and often give rise to ideological alternatives which, as established at the outset of this paper, are sought for their ability to guide and evaluate social development.

The pragmatic value of the above distinctions may also be presented in a word of warning. It is essential that one usage is not confused with another. In confusing ideological statements with descriptive statements, for example, we may fail to address moral and practical considerations. Scheffler warns of this danger when describing the nature of programmatic definitions and the tendency to confuse them with their descriptive counterparts.³⁹ Similarly, confusing slogans with either theoretical descriptions or ideology will only result in frustration for they cannot provide the needed clarifying structure.

While precision and clarity are necessary if descriptive analyses are to serve their intended function, perhaps a search for precision or a final definition of cultural pluralism as an ideal is unfounded. At this time there may be good reason to allow ideological alternatives to run free. Novak supports this thesis when he suggests that clarity should not be sought beyond the limits of the concept under consideration.

The most basic concepts are the hardest to define. We should not expect that a definition will be more neat than other concepts like it In this area, definitions are more like searchlights than like generalizations carved in stone. The test of a good definition is not whether it covers all cases—smothers them, ties all their edges down—but whether it brings to light, or at least allows to emerge,

everything relevant and significant.⁴⁰

Further support for this approach might be found in R. S. Peters' approach to defining "education".⁴¹ Peters argues that while there are certain conditions necessary for something to qualify as education, and that there are certain practices inconsistent with the concept, no precise behaviors can nor should be equated with the term. Rather practices need to be matched with the necessary criteria to see if they are entitled to the label.

The concept of cultural pluralism might best function in the same manner. The issue is not whether "culture" or "ethnicity" should be the standard for group identification, but rather that groups are identified. The criteria for group identification may vary with context. Thus, for one set of circumstances one's ethnicity may be relevant while one's cultural behavior goes unnoticed. Affirmative action might be such an occasion. Under a different set of circumstances the reverse may be true. For example, if one's native language is Spanish it makes no difference if one is of Mexican heritage when it comes to bilingual ballots or bilingual education.

In a similar fashion we may operate without one ideological model for cultural pluralism. When considering groups like the Amish and Hopi relative isolation may be both acceptable and equitable treatment. Reciprocally, for other ethnic groups (or individual members of these' groups) an assimilationist or amalgamationist model may be acceptable and equitable treatment. The point is that such decisions cannot be made without reference to their context. Just as a judgment of whether a specific act of teaching qualifies as education depends on the circumstances, so too the treatment of a particular group must be judged consistent with cultural pluralism.

It should be noted that this is not a new or unique approach to resolving social issues. It has long been an accepted practice of our judicial system. Rather than rule in a broad and sweeping manner, the courts tend to judge the merit of individual cases. Much in the same manner the practices of groups, interaction among groups, and group conflict might be resolved on the basis of a balancing test without an appeal to a finite model of cultural pluralism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Considerable attention has been focused on this area in the past several years. For example, AACTE and ATE have endorsed the concept, established Multicultural Education Committees, and have sponsored conferences on the topic. OEO has budgeted 83 million dollars for funding bilingual and bicultural related programs for 1975. The guidelines for funding projects by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1975 were heavily weighted toward cultural and multicultural concerns. In addition, there has been a proliferation of university multicultural and bilingual programs and discussion of the topic is becoming an everyday occurrence in the literature.
2. William Greenbaum, "America in Search of a New Ideal: An Essay on the Rise of Pluralism," *Harvard Educational Review* 44 (1974): 411-440.
3. Ibid., p. 433.
4. Ibid.
5. See, for example, Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, Joel Spring, *Roots of Crises: American Education In the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1973) and Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975).
6. Seymour W. Itzkoff, *Cultural Pluralism and American Education* (Scranton, Penn.: International Textbook, 1969), p. 2.
7. While the United States is typically characterized as pluralistic by students of ethnicity, some observers note a relative lack of diversity. For example, Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), characterizes the United States as being "behaviorally assimilated"; Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), suggests a relative lack of psychological and political diversity in the United States; and Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955), describes a relative lack of religious diversity.
8. William M. Newman, *American Pluralism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 51.
9. Robert A. Dahl, *Pluralistic Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), pp. 22-24.
10. See, for example, James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy, *The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in Complex Society* (Chicago: SRA, 1972).
11. See James A. Banks, *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1975).
12. Ibid., pp. 10-13.
13. Agnes Moreland Jackson, "To See 'Me' in 'Thee'," in *The Rediscovery of Ethnicity*, ed Sallie TeSelle (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 21-45.

14. James C. Stone and Donald P. DeNevi, *Five Heritages : Teaching Multi-cultural Populations* (New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1971).
15. Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York : The Macmillan Co., 1972).
16. Edward Spicer and R. Thompson, *Plural Society in the Southwest* (New York : Archwile Press, 1972).
17. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*.
18. This is not to suggest that ethnicity is irrelevant when considered across socio-economic lines. Rather it is to illustrate the confusion and weaknesses of the concept.
19. B. Paul Komisar and James E. McClellan, "The Logic of Slogans," in *Language and Concepts in Education*, ed. B. Othanel Smith and Robert E. Ennes (Chicago : Rand McNally, 1971), pp. 195-200.
20. Thomas Hogg and Marlin McComb, "Cultural Pluralism : Its Implications for Education," *Educational Leadership* 27 (1969) : 237.
21. Edgar Epps, *Cultural Pluralism and Education* (Berkeley : McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1974), p. 177.
22. William R. Hazard and Madelan D. Stent, "Cultural Pluralism and Schooling : Some Preliminary Observations," in *Cultural Pluralism in Education* eds. Madelan Stent, William Hazard, and Harry Rivlin (New York : Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), p. 15.
23. Newman, p. 50.
24. Ibid., p. 51.
25. Richard Pratte, "The Concept of Cultural Pluralism," in *Philosophy of Education 1972 : Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting* (1972), p. 69.
26. Thomas F. Green, *Education and Pluralism : Ideal and Reality* (Syracuse : School of Education, Syracuse University, 1966).
27. Pratte, pp. 68-73.
28. Ibid.
29. Thomas F. Pettigrew. "The Case for the Racial Integration of the Schools," an unpublished paper delivered at the Cubberley Conference, Stanford University, 1973. A similar position is presented by Pettigrew in *Cultural Pluralism and Education* ed. Edgar Epps, *op. cit.*
30. Nathan Glazer, "Cultural Pluralism : "The Social Aspect," an unpublished paper presented at the "Pluralism In a Democratic Society" Conference, sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Plaza Hotel, New York, April 1975.
31. James A. Banks, "Ethnic Studies As a Process of Curriculum Reform," an unpublished paper presented at the "Pluralism In a Democratic Society" Conference sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Plaza Hotel, New York, April 1975. A position similar to this is presented by Banks in *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies*, *op. cit.*

32. Glazer, "Cultural Pluralism : The Social Aspect," p. 32.
33. Barbara A. Sizemore, "Shattering the Melting Pot Myth," in *Teaching Ethnic Studies*, ed. James Banks (Washington, D. C. : National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), pp. 73-100.
34. Ibid., p. 82.
35. Itzkoff, p. 145.
36. Michael Novak, "Cultural Pluralism for Individuals : A Social Vision," an unpublished paper delivered at the "Pluralism In a Democratic Society" Conference, sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Plaza Hotel, New York, April 1975, p. 35.
37. Richard Pratte, *The Public School Movement* (New York : McKay, 1973).
38. Ibid., p. 206.
39. Israel Scheffler, *The Language of Education* (Springfield : Charles C. Thomas, 1960), Chapter 1.
40. Novak, "Cultural Pluralism for individuals," p. 8.
41. Richard Peters, *Authority, Responsibility and Education* (New York : Paul S. Erikson, Inc., 1960) pp. 83-95.

Ethnicity for Individuals: What to do and why

I

There is a danger in writing about ethnicity solely in the context of culture and consciousness. For ethnicity (not only in America) has direct and indirect relationships to the distribution of power, wealth, status, and occupations. An ethnic analysis of the executive suites of major corporations in such cities as Chicago and Detroit, or an ethnic analysis of universities, the major media, the highest offices of government, foundations and other institutions, reveals that if there is a "melting pot" in American society it does not exist at the top. The proper focus of ethnic awareness is on issues of power, wealth, and influence. Who are the "decision-makers"? And, since power in America now depends largely on communications, who are the "opinion-makers"? A new ethnic awareness portends changes in the social, political, and economic order.

BACKGROUND

Intense discussions among social scientists, historians, and political scientists over the last few years, both in conferences and in print, have made abundantly clear the lack of theoretical consensus about the concept and significance of ethnicity. We lack an accurate and serviceable vocabulary.

An assiduous reading of social scientific literature in this area has not satisfied me that my own experience, and that of many others (I am tempted to say millions of others), has been accounted for. Efforts in this direction far exceed merely autobiographical reference: Orlando Patterson accounts for the differences between growing up black in the West Indies as opposed to growing up black in the United States; Philip Roth wrestles publicly with the tensions of growing up Jewish in a non-Jewish

world ; Michael J. Arlen writes in a three-part series in the *New Yorker* of his voyage to discover what it means to have roots in Armenia ; Richard Gambino explores the Italian experience in America, as he has lived it ; Andrew Greeley writes of "the taming of the American Irish" ; Octavio Paz in *Labyrinths of Solitude* writes powerfully of the anomie of Mexican-American youths in a southwestern city ; Vine de Loria writes of growing up as an American Indian ; Willie Morris describes what it is like to discover Mississippi in New York ; and so forth.

It used to seem obligatory to leave home, become enlightened, and join sides with the "larger" world. By contrast, many today have discovered that you can go home again (and must) because somewhere there, behind secret doors, hidden behind the branches, lost in mists, lies the treasure nourishing our work.

The national university system and the national communications network, both created since World War II, may be most responsible for this emergence of ethnic and regional consciousness. For it is in part by meeting "others" and in part by learning the ways of self-consciousness and the tools of self-analysis that one is prompted to notice one's own "difference" and to be puzzled by it. One is obliged—by a certain intellectual honesty and by a certain intellectual exigency—to see things precisely in their proper intellectual horizon and to call things precisely by their proper names. The higher education of the masses was bound to cause an explosion in American self-consciousness, exactly in proportion as the masses were not all Anglo-Americans whose lives were already well articulated in the dominant cultural symbols.

The situation in 1975 is somewhat different from that of the late 1960's. The great taboo has been broken. Every day, new works appear as evidence that each human being does emanate from a particular social world, and that there is intellectual gain in self-consciousness about one's own beginnings. Michael J. Arlen's beautiful three-part essay in *The New Yorker* (Feb. 3, 10, 17, 1975) is not an exercise in chauvinism, boasting of the glories of being Armenian ; it is, rather, a kind of elegy, haunting and sad, exploring the mystery why for two generations being Armenian had been in his family an object of secrecy, unconsciousness, and hidden shame. To be Armenian and American

is not a sign of failed universality or flawed self-transcendence ; it is, as Michael Arlen exemplifies it, an admirable expression of what it is to be of flesh and blood, inspirited by a large soul : He is who he is, unpretending, perceptive, at home in a pluralistic world, rooted, un-homogenized, living consciously in a history different perhaps from yours and mine, and yet living also in a history you and I share.

The metaphor underlying our search for a theory adequate to our diverse personal experience is best taken from the world of music. Our society is not best understood as a melting pot, a salad, a stew, a mosaic—such metaphors are far too static, ugly, and mechanical for the life of the spirit. In the world of music, the chief sense is the ear ; the most personal of all the senses, the most attuned to inner ways, the most complex and subtle in its range, the best suited to express many levels of meaning simultaneously, to draw upon quite distinct instruments, and to convey interweaving motifs. In music, underlying melodies may rise and fall, emerge and recede, and many diverse sounds may mingle or, on the contrary, each suddenly be heard alone and in crystal-clear counterpoint. The whole effect may include the contributions of all—present a “common culture”—without thereby requiring that flutes be drums, or violins trumpets, or that sonatas be symphonies. Dissonance has its uses ; and variation ; and sudden harmony,

But enough metaphor. We need some fairly precise words to disentangle the many levels of experience involved in pluralistic living.

DEFINITIONS

Most of our most important social-political concepts are not susceptible of univocal definition ; they are not clear, pat, universally applicable, and tame. In my own field, religious studies, no one has given an adequate definition of religion, suitable for every historical manifestation of phenomena we are driven to term religious. The same is true of concepts in social science like class and even caste ; of democracy ; of liberalism ; of equality ; and the like. The most basic concepts are the hardest to define. We should not expect that a definition of ethnicity, or of its components, will be more neat than other concepts like it. What we should hope is that the definitions offered are, at least, heuris-

tic: that is, that they will channel our attention in fruitful ways, will not preclude the raising of important further questions, and will not avert our eyes from those discrepant experiences which still elude the embrace of our definitions. In this area, definitions are more like searchlights than like generalizations carved in stone. The test of a good definition is not whether it covers all cases—smothers them, ties all their edges down—but whether it brings to light, or at least allows to emerge, everything relevant and significant.

I sometimes imagine that there is a finite number of characteristics that various authors have listed as constitutive of an ethnic group. Let us suppose, for simplicity's sake, that the number is twenty. Are Texans an ethnic group? Are the Syrian-Lebanese in America one ethnic group (Arabs), or two, (Syrians and Lebanese, at least since Syria and Lebanon became in the twentieth century independent nations) or four, (Syrian-Moslem and Syrian-Christian; and Lebanese-Moslem and Lebanese-Christian)? Is each Indian tribe of North America an ethnic group? Are contemporary intellectuals an ethnic group? Are Jews, Poles, Italians, Slovaks, the Irish, West Indians, and American blacks ethnic groups in the same sense? No two of these groups, let us admit, have an identical set of characteristics constituting it as an ethnic group. But perhaps from our finite list of constitutive characteristics each group has ten or twelve (or more, or less). Having a greater number of such characteristics may mark a group as an ethnic group in the strictest sense; having a minimal number may mark it as an ethnic group in a looser, but informative, sense. A theory of ethnicity arrived at in this way would provide, as it were, a map, a scale, a field, in which fruitful analogies might be constructed. Such a theory might also be imagined as containing an historical dimension, so that one might chart the coming into being and the dying out of certain forms of group consciousness. (Most immigrants from Central Europe had "Hungarian" on their passports, but thought of themselves in significantly more local terms than that—only to be sorted out, and to sort themselves out, in such shifting categories as, *e. g.*, "bohunks", then "Bohemians", then "Slovaks", then, for some, "Czechoslovaks".

The French have begun to use the word *ethnie* to signify an

ethnic group. It would be beyond my range to list all the elements constitutive of an *ethne*, as required for the theory mentioned above. But some of the following propositions may make a contribution in that direction. The field I have in view is the people of the United States, not that of the planet as a whole.

1. *Ethnic belonging is a phenomenon of consciousness ; it is not merely genetic.* It is ascribed by others or self-ascribed. When the young Michael Arlen replied sincerely to a schoolmaster that his nationality was English, the schoolmaster retorted : "You couldn't be *English*." Although there are genetic factors involved in ethnic belonging— the transmission of certain genes from a relatively limited gene pool— and although environmental factors, including diet, over a long period of time may deeply affect the character of an *ethne* ; still, in the United States, at least, much is to be gained by concentrating on the effects of ethnicity upon consciousness. How does ethnicity work in consciousness ? On how many levels ?

2. *Ethnicity affects consciousness below the threshold of self-consciousness or self-analysis.* Behavior or perceptions that seem natural, normal and universal to the person participating in them may be "different" or "distinctive" in the eyes of others. One may even try to erase from one's behavior, emotions, and perceptions the characteristics one identifies with one's past, and nevertheless, signal to others, unconsciously, that one is different from them. When Senator Muskie "cried" in New Hampshire in 1972, some thought his learned Yankee composure cracked. If one's consciousness has been shaped by ethnic belonging, it does not follow that one "knows oneself" thoroughly enough to discern how, to what degree, and in which ways ; or that one *wants* to know these things ; or that one, in knowing them, wishes to reinforce— or to inhibit— them. Efforts at more exact self-knowledge may reveal the impact of one's ethnicity upon one's own consciousness. For it has had such an impact, even if one has never adverted to it. Explore and see.

3. *Ethnicity is— in a loose, preliminary definition— participation in a shared social horizon, its way of structuring self and world, its effects, and its history.* Such participation is usually transmitted unself-consciously by one's parents, their behavior and attitudes, the structure of family relations, and the relation of the

family to larger worlds. It tends to be transmitted tacitly and without conceptual or even verbal articulation; although, in some cases, elaborate rituals, social codes, activities, symbols, games, tales, and stories may objectify the tacit transmission. The learning of a language and the study of a specific literature and history may further objectify the tacit transmission. Implied here is a possible—and in America statistically frequent—breakdown between the objectified world and the tacit transmission. Most public symbols, language and activities may run counter to the tacit transmission. Inner experience may lack cultural objectification—and tongue to reveal itself. A Croatian-American may have learned feelings and ways of perceiving from his family, but in schools, the media, and public life never encounter symbols that express such inner feelings.

4. *The “shared social history” that constitutes ethnicity is not identical to religion, although in some cultures religion is a primary component thereof.* To a Lebanese being a Christian or being Moslem may be of greater salience than being Lebanese; yet being *Lebanese* Moslem rather than *Egyptian* Moslem is significant. Being Jewish is not identical to being a participant in Judaism as a religion, or even to believing in God; yet the tie between Judaism and Jewishness is culturally decisive. The Slovak Catholic, the Slovak Orthodox, and the Slovak Lutheran do, and do not, share the same social history; the issue is complex because Lutheran cultural leaders did so much to develop the distinctive Slovak language and cultural identity, and the Orthodox have maintained symbols that look Eastward. Connections between religion, nationality and culture are experienced differently—and the distinctions between them are drawn differently—in different cultures.

5. *The “shared social history” that constitutes ethnicity is not identical to “national heritage” or “national origin”.* Many nations are composed of more than one ethnic group. A Scotsman in London may be a citizen of Great Britain, yet ethnically identify himself in clear opposition to English or Welsh citizens.

6. *A “shared social history” endures over time because, and in proportion as, it offers illumination and support in changing circumstances, changing environments, and changing times.* Ethnic consciousness waxes and wanes; ethnic groups seem to appear,

disappear, "melt", and to be stirred back to life according to various conditions. On the other hand, one must distinguish between a "shared social history" insofar as it is conscious, and insofar as it is unconscious. Forgotten historical events can be brought back to memory, with galvanizing effect. A mythical history can also be invented. To some extent, all exercises in historical reconstruction reflect present senses of reality and present criteria of relevance; history is always being rewritten as an exercise in present self-understanding. One can learn new, or forgotten, elements from the past that throw light upon the present. The historical reconstruction of an ethnic history—even of the sort Michael Arlen undertook—is undertaken because it has utility: A writer's identity, in this case, is the most precious resource he has.

7. *A "shared social history", if it is not to be merely episodic or part of a larger whole, must in some way be related both to the whole of human history and to cosmic time.* Territorial or regional experience over a relatively short period of time—in Appalachia, Texas, the American South, and the like—approach closer to, or recede from, "a shared social history" in the strict sense in proportion as they aspire to convey an entire worldview. Insofar as they present themselves as sub-plots of a larger story, the story of the United States, for example, and the story of the English-speaking race, they are rather like those group variations that every *ethne* includes within it. Such variations, however, are full of interest and psychological power, and are often characterized by a specific economic and social structure, so that their influence is, at least, *very like* that of a "shared social history" in the fuller sense. Thus, the inner geography of many persons in the South, or in Appalachia, with respect to the dominant and taste-making culture of the Northeastern upper class, includes elements of self-doubt, cultural insecurity, and self-hatred remarkably analogous to those discerned by Michael Arlen in his father. The cultural dominance of the Northeast in educational structures imposes a somewhat false self-image on the vast majority of Americans. History is too much written from Boston westward and southward, and from the upper class downward. The chief television production supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities for the Bicentennial will concern the life of Abigail Adams.

8. A "shared social history" may give rise to (a) an "ethnic culture", (b) to an "ethnic identification", and (c) to an "appropriated ethnic heritage". An *ethnic culture* is observable when attitudes, styles of personality, and behaviors are ethnically distinctive—as when American Poles prove more likely to vote on election day than any other ethnic group in America. An *ethnic identification* arises when one places oneself on an ethnic chart: "I am West Indian." An *ethnic heritage* may be unconscious and implicit, but it is *appropriated* as one's own when one explicitly and consciously explores one's social history, its symbols, and its historical objectifications. Under present conditions, the second and third of these moments frequently come first, making us conscious (for the first time) of the first. Thus, Michael Arlen was identified, and then identified himself, as a person of Armenian descent. Then he began to appropriate a particular social history by reading, study, and travel: that of his family and that of his people. Then he began to draw connections between some of his own tastes, interests, values, and activities and those of the culture he had, even unconsciously, been sharing. He was a kinsman, and began to become conscious of his kinship with his father, his grandfather, and others, along lines which in the first part of his life he had been studiously guarded from acknowledging. (A young Serbian student in Winona, Minnesota, recently told me how for years he had been protected by his mother—and, passively, by his father—from learning of his father's "foreign" family: contact with them was regarded as a downward pull. The student's handsome profile, black mustache and wavy hair reminded me uncannily of a painting of a hussar I had just seen in a Serbian restaurant in Vienna.) [On these distinctions, see Andrew Greeley, *Ethnicity in the United States* (Wiley, 1974).]

9. A "shared social history" does not imply tribalism, group think, or collective action. Even living at a distance from one another, without neighborhood ties, and virtually apart from all but occasional group contacts, an individual may participate in a "shared social history". Often, individuals live in "diaspora". A remarkable sense of group connectedness is consonant with daily existence at great distance from other members of one's group. Thus, the Syrian-Lebanese in America, although for the most part scattered in individual families across the whole United States, retain a remarkable sense of shared social history. To

speak of "group solidarity" in their case is to speak only analogously. For while there are many evidences of national cooperation, association, and organized initiatives, the dominant pattern of their living seems to be as individual families in the midst of others different from themselves. In contemporary life, many carry their ethnic connections internally, without living in an ethnic group.

10. *There is no contradiction between living as a responsible and autonomous individual and appropriating one's own shared social history ; that is, between the celebration of individuality and the celebration of ethnicity.* Why ? Because the human being is a social animal, not atomic and singular and alone. Thus, Orlando Patterson, in attacking "the fallacy of cultural pluralism" (*Change*, March 1975), is not denying his own shared social history as a black from the West Indies, nor that of David Riesman (whom he cites) as a scholar of uncommonly large sympathies and yet much in debt to his Jewish heritage.

11. *The phrase "cultural pluralism" conjures up at least five social models, each of which should be distinguished from the others.* (cf. Andrew Greeley, *op. cit.* pp. 303-10.)

11. (a) *The model of Anglo-conformity :* the plurality of cultures entering into America should adapt to the cultural history of the Anglo-American part of the population.

(b) *The model of the melting pot :* the Anglo-American part of the population is modified, at least in part, by the other immigrant cultures so that the result is a new "common culture". In practice, this view usually gives way to 11 (a).

(c) *The model of simple cultural pluralism :* the non-Anglo immigrant parts of the population are affected by the dominant Anglo-American population and so do not remain as they were, and yet they remain somewhat separate from the Anglo-American population. This model may represent the separatism of Switzerland, Holland, Ulster, Ceylon and some African countries. It does not explain the situation of Michael Arlen and many others.

(d) *The model of acculturation but not assimilation :* the immigrant cultures pick up some traits from the dominant Anglo-American culture, and the dominant culture picks up some traits from the various non-Anglo cultures, so that an area of "common culture" is created. On the other hand, the non-Anglo cultures

retain some of their own traits. Anglo-American culture retains some of its own special psychic territory. Members of groups discover a fairly ample distance between themselves and members of others especially, but not only, in the private sphere : in marriage, friendships, occupations, vacations, etc.

11. (e) According to a *model of ethnogenesis*, some at least of the non-Anglo groups already shared some traits and resources in common with Anglo-American culture even before their meeting in America. Then, depending on the experience of various groups in America at the diverse times and places of their arrival, and depending on the experience of various groups in America at the diverse times and places of their arrival, and depending on their subsequent experiences, reinforcements, and negative shocks, various individuals may proceed along various trajectories. In some ways, they may pick up traits from Anglo-American culture or from other American cultures, and may try to set aside some traits they brought with them. The resultant mix of traits may still remain quite distinctive. Indeed, they or their children may after three generations be more different in some respects from their fellow Anglo-Americans than their ancestors were from Anglo-Americans three generations earlier. They may, for example, more keenly distrust certain "American" ideas celebrated three generations ago. The shared social history in which they now participate may include Anglo-American traits, symbols, and history, while also going quite considerably beyond it. Thus, a Lithuanian-American in the third generation may share a quite different social history from that of Orlando Patterson, Willie Morris, Philip Roth, Mohammed Ali, James Reston, Jr., or Robert Kennedy, Jr. One might, moreover, test one's own attitudes, opinions, convictions, and behavior—and discern that the difference between oneself and those in other ethnic traditions, controlled for residence, income, class and other variables, are quite remarkable. Of course, acculturation is like a glass of water : some say it is half full, others say it is half empty.

12. *Research is needed on the individual's free use of his own ethnic inheritance—especially its resources for nourishing sensibility, imagination, moral perception, and intellectual style.* Most discussions of ethnicity seem to have in mind the tribal group, and to look for characteristics of group solidarity, group behavior and

group perception. One distinctive feature of a pluralistic society like that of the United States is that the individual, living and acting and thinking as an individual, may continue to nourish ethnically differentiated symbolic materials.

13. *Ethnic inheritance affects the rate, direction, symbols and style of moral development.* The extent to which the moral agent imagines himself as a solitary, autonomous member of a family or other communal network, varies ethnically. The extent to which morality is imagined as obedience to moral principles, or loyalty to one's bonded fellows, or fidelity to an ideal type of conduct or code of honor, varies ethnically. The valuation of obedience, dissent, loyalty, and priority vary ethnically. The *starting places* of moral development are especially diverse. At the heights (or depths) of moral development, moral geniuses may have more in common.

14. *Ethnic inheritance affects the symbolic field within which religious perceptions occur : whether the symbol "God" is linked to morality or to nature ; whether to historical optimism or to historical fatalism ; whether to distance or to proximity ; whether to personal crises or to impersonal detachment, etc.* It may be observed that architecture, religious rituals, and rites of marriage, birth, and death evoke symbolically diverse materials in ethnically diverse traditions. Even quite secular symbol systems, whether those of groups like Ethical Culture or those of individuals, tend to reflect ethnically diverse symbolic fields.

15. *Literary symbols diverge ethnically.* To read *Portnoy's Complaint* alongside *Couples* is to move in two ethnically diverse symbolic worlds. The sexual vagaries of the hero of *American Mischief* diverge according to the ethnic backgrounds of his mistresses. Codes of honor, the role of the individual, family expectations, and other materials differ quite remarkably in the literary works that derive from different ethnic traditions. *Giants in the Earth* by O. E. Rolvaag; *America! America!* by Elia Kazan; *Out of this Furnace* by Thomas Bell (Belejak); *The Fortunate Pilgrim* by Mario Puzo; *The Virginian* by Owen Wister; and other novels re-create significantly diverse symbolic worlds. It is one of the functions of literature to render particular worlds accessible to a universal audience. But the interplay between the particular and the universal is complex and fascinating.

16. *The perception of political symbols varies ethnically.* Frequently used political words like "conscience", "change", "quotas", "welfare", "compassion", "loyalty", "patronage", "neighborhood", "family", "humane", "peace", and others have associations that affect those who hear them no more than one level simultaneously, and in ethnically significant patterns. A person's political *actions* can link him with certain allies even when the political *symbols* surrounding such actions affect him differently from the way they affect his allies. Some persons voted for McGovern who reacted quite negatively to his moral self-presentation; others wished he had been even more vigorously moral. A distinction should be made between perception and behavior. Along both axes, ethnic inheritance varies significantly. Some traditions have symbolic and behavioral resources others lack. To certain symbols and behaviors some individuals have responses in their heads different from those in their guts. One may not be determined by an ethnic inheritance to perceive or to behave in one way only; but one's resources for perception and behavior may be significantly affected by a social history different from that of others.

II

Imagine a third-generation Slav or Italian, now a professional in academic, political or corporate life. Let us call him John Kubek. Kubek is a graduate of Cornell with a doctorate in political science. He grew up in Buffalo, but has never had any affiliation with an ethnic fraternal or any other association. Most of the students in the parochial school he attended were Polish, but many of the students and most of the teachers were Irish, along with a few Italians, blacks, and others. The parish which he attended as a child was Polish, but Polish-language sermons had already almost disappeared, although confessions in Polish were still available for old-timers. Polish was not spoken in his home, except when the parents wished the children not to know what they were saying. (His mother sternly warning his father not to be too hard on him.)

Kubek's father was proud to be a foreman in the mill; not many Polacks, he used to say, were foremen—the Irish pushed their own. Neither in the parochial school nor in the public high school, where with some qualms his ambitious parents had sent

him, did Kubek learn anything significant about Polish literature or history. He learned a little about St. Patrick's day in the parochial elementary school, how to dance the Irish jig (for the pastor's silver jubilee), and about the Easter Rebellion. "Orange" was a taunt he could use against the Irish, and once on St. Patrick's day he wore an orange sweater to school, and a minor fist fight resulted, after which the eighth-grade nun admonished him verbally about his "bad judgment" but emotionally about his gross and horrid insensitivity.

To Kubek, the university seemed a great liberation. He thought that many of his professors were quite complacently anti-Catholic and, indeed, moralistic and impractical in their social ideas (exactly as his father had predicted). But a freer sexual ethic, an attitude of openness to shocking ideas, and a genial atmosphere of virtual *laissez faire* attracted him. He did, indeed, feel liberated and enlightened by virtue of his university experience. He felt he had a strength in political practicality and toughness his instructors lacked, especially with respect to urban politics and urban history. He tended less than they to idealize early labor union history and more than they not to feign shock that labor union leaders today earn more than full professors. He was early won to a form of radical politics in the early 1960's and enjoyed shocking some of his professors by contradicting their expectations that he would be conservative because (it was implicit) he had been Polish and Catholic.

Liberalism seemed to John Kubek a fairly elitist and complacent view of the world, and a little too Jewish and high Protestant in its intellectual and social base. It represented an establishment toward which he had quite ambivalent feelings. It presented itself as weak and in opposition, when in fact it seemed to him strong, even dominant, and virtually unopposed (at least intellectually). On the other hand, many of his colleagues in radicalism seemed to carry Jewish and high Protestant tendencies to even further extremes, and to be too fond, for his tastes, of witness, martyrdom, and failure. He had instinctive sympathies for underdogs, but disdained losers.

He was pleased that his relationships with blacks seemed to be on tougher and more elemental grounds than those of his academic colleagues; he neither felt guilt nor permitted himself

to be emotionally bullied. He liked to disagree openly with blacks, to call their bluffs, and to tear away the moral rhetoric ("oppression," "reparations," and even "racist society") from their real claims. "We outnumber you nine to one," he would say. "If we wanted to be racists, to oppress, and to commit genocide, why shouldn't we? If you want jobs, say so. Don't expect me to go down the sawdust trail, preacher man." Blacks would wink and elbow him.

When he heard of the "new ethnicity," Kubek ridiculed it. Hel, he wasn't Polish. He had assimilated. He couldn't speak Polish, and didn't want to. His children showed hardly a sign of Polishness, whatever that might be. The old neighborhoods in Buffalo were going or gone. Of course, the "ethnics" (he hated the word, didn't like being any place where labels might be stuck on him) were "melting". The evidence is overwhelming.

On the other hand, every evidence that "melting" was not taking place irritated him. He was sick of smiling weakly at Polish jokes, among colleagues who wouldn't tell black jokes or Jewish jokes. And he did believe that statistical evidence was fairly systematically distorted by colleagues who spoke of political attitudes, voting behavior, and rhetorical symbols among blue collar workers generally and "ethnic" populations in particular, in ways the figures did not warrant. He thought of this as part of his own toughmindedness in such matters, given his social rooting in such communities. He did not feel as though he were a political ally of white ethnic working class populations—he made jokes about Boss Daley and his machine as bitingly as the next man (Mike Royko was a favorite of his, actually)—but he didn't particularly like the "feel" of many of the "creeps" he was in alliance with, either. (Mike Royko's column on "Jet-stream [Jesse] Jackson" gave him a special exhilaration, like an evanescent ray of honesty in a fog.) He worked for, but loathed McGovern; he wished someone else besides Nixon were the Republican candidate, so he could prove to himself that he was independent and didn't always vote Democratic.

Is John Kubek an "ethnic" or not?

More to the point, would a different public conception of cultural pluralism and a different educational system have been of assistance to him, so as to enhance his creativity and to increase

the probabilities of his making a distinctive and significant intellectual contribution to this society? In two respects, John Kubek's potential has been aborted: the first, with respect to self-knowledge; the second, with respect to a serviceable intellectual language. Both these deficiencies have practical consequences. With more thorough self-knowledge, he might lose less time and energy on unnecessary inner conflict: his own self-image and the image others have of him might fall into sharper focus. It is *not* paradoxical that John Kubek is in some ways more radical and more progressive than his colleagues, and in other ways more progressive *in a different way*—a way they at first perceive to be “conservative”. On abortion, for example, he early raised issues about the rights of the fetus that they then ridiculed but later (about the time of *Newsweek's* cover, February 1975) also began to worry about. (His own early reaction had been stimulated by the translation of “24 weeks” into “six months,” at a time when his wife Betsy was six-months large with child.)

Secondly, with a more serviceable intellectual language, Kubek would be able to say some of the things he obscurely feels about family life and family culture, about what distinguishes a “good” neighborhood from an alienated neighborhood, and the like, in terms that others could readily understand. The language of American politics sometimes seems incredibly impoverished. “Left” and “right” are terms borrowed from nineteenth-century France; “liberal” and “conservative” from nineteenth-century England; “progressive” and “populist” are borrowed from rural America. For the politics of the immigrant white urban working class, there is not a uniquely appropriate language. Perception of its values is somehow askew; even its *self*-perception is askew. Perhaps, if such a language were generally accessible, the present political situation of the nation might be quite differently understood; and the nature and structure of American society might be differently imagined. Catholics number one in four of the American population. Perhaps a theory that began with them might shed fascinating light upon the whole.

The present system of acculturation and assimilation, to put the matter briefly, has two drawbacks: it alienates many citizens from a genuine self-knowledge; it inhibits the growth of genuine intellectual creativity. *The processes of acculturation and assimila-*

tion, in effect, strengthen mechanisms of conformity, both outward and inward. They do not liberate the unique and differentiated resources of the individual. They reward capitulation.

Thus, the third-or-fourth-generation descendent of "white-ethnic" immigrants with professional aspirations has the following choices: (1) A rather high degree of Anglo-conformity, not only in outward behavior, but also in comfortable inwardness. It is important to be "at home" among those who set the cultural style in professional circles. (2) Some degree of involvement, usually small or non-existent, unless fairly direct economic trade-offs result, in explicitly ethnic neighborhoods or organizations. Leadership in any sub-group ought not to be disdained; for between state totalitarianism and isolated individuals, well-organized and semi-voluntary sub-groups make an essential social contribution to a healthy society. Yet the larger society tends to regard active participation in *ethnic* sub-groups with a certain uneasiness or condescension. So this choice, unless special compensations are involved, is usually discouraged by the prevailing social climate. Ordinarily, education means education "away from" the ethnic group; the ethnic group is one of the darkneses to which "enlightenment" is set in contrast. (3) A personal, usually unaided search for one's family and cultural roots, possible only after a certain economic and social success has been established. Here one may find identification with a cultural stream that is differentiated both from the host "mainstream" culture and from the immigrant organizational structure.

With respect to each of these choices, an intelligent cultural pluralism might provide assistance not now provided. There are practical steps we might take.

First, in the home, young children might be provided with folk tales, images, and rituals which objectify the actual emotional and intellectual rhythms that govern family relationships. When family relations move on levels that have no objectification, or an objectification that does not actually fit, serious emotional distortion arises. Anger, resentment, misunderstandings, and dreadful silences—not only those that occur in the complexity of all human relationships, but, in addition, special cultural distortions that heighten them—multiply, inter-twine, and feed on each other. Young Slavs in the Pittsburgh area, for example, fre-

quently manifest in school an unusual docility, modesty, passivity; there is about them some sense of already having been defeated. They are prey, too, to flashes of anger, to an ambivalent self-hatred and inferiority. Some of the passages in Dostoevsky about the self-groveling and the exhilarating extremes in the Russian character capture—in their Russian version—their swings of emotion. Yet Dostoevsky's tales do not represent the peasant culture from which most immigrants come. Most of the latter have in their homes no access to books or stories that exemplify their own spontaneous tendencies to anger, to ecstasy, to fear, to envy, and the rest. The process of acculturation provides them solely with "American" images of how to dispose of these emotions. But, "Americans" do not have to contain in these channels the same structure of passion and feeling. Jewish culture, by contrast, provides in story and image a wide variety of self-understandings: Possibilities of being "American", but also, where useful, of not being limited by "American" ways.

Secondly, the curriculum of the public and parochial elementary schools offer virtually no illumination to Italian, Greek, Slavic and other children concerning the different family patterns and emotional contexts out of which they come. "Dick and Jane" in the elementary readers are, plainly, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant in attitude, behavior, and image. Objects in the home, and attitudes with respect to them, are not those of all American families, even in the third and fourth generation. Perhaps all children experience the schools as a somewhat unreal environment. But in values and style, the schools are still more distant from Southern and Eastern European traditions. The problem is more acute in the present generation because the cultural dissonance is internal rather than external. The world of plastics and mass production floods all homes more or less homogeneously, but the emotional currents in the home still tend to follow thousand-year patterns. Anger is a legitimate and frequently exhibited emotion in some traditions, but is regarded as a lapse in self-control in others. Ambition is nourished in some, but much chided in others. Children are lavishly praised in some, systematically "humbled" in others. School curricula that do not help students to objectify their own inner tendencies contribute to the general dissonance, to a merely extrinsic conformity, and to enormous psychic wastage.

Thirdly, the curriculum of universities systematically excludes the cultures of a very large minority, perhaps a majority, of students. In studying American history, for example, it is important that all students learn something of the formative experience of the nation: of the Puritan divines, the great Virginians, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, F. D. R. and others. On the other hand, historical studies which regard as unimportant the great formative influences of the industrial and urban turmoil of the last one hundred years—the history of the great immigration—leave out of account one of the most powerful of all American realities. Systematic distortion is introduced because so many historians and teachers do not resonate to immigrant history *as their own*. Few translators have been available to provide the children of the immigrants with an accessible literature. The structure of immigrant societies, Jews excepted, did not include a due proportion of teachers and intellectual workers; nor were those who came with the immigrants valued for their intellectual skills. For this structural flaw, enormous cultural and emotional costs are still being paid.

Fourthly, on state boards of regents, or on the boards of trustees of the state universities, or in other comparable educational positions, few descendants of the immigrants have appeared; and of these, far fewer have grasped the extent of the inner distortion being suffered under the existing policies of Americanization. Often, descendants of the immigrants who are so honored are proud of the honor and in their minds the honor confirms the justice of the processes of Americanization; its cost are not so apparent to them.

Fifthly, even if individual parents try to compensate for the egregious failures of the schools, local public libraries are extremely deficient in providing resources. Books on England, France, and Germany abound. English culture is, indeed, wed to Norman and to Saxon culture, and the wedding continues. But concerning Southern and Eastern Europe, the holdings are slim indeed. The lists of publishers suggest the same pattern.

In a word, the tasks before us are immense. The basic intellectual work—of translation and creation—has often not been done; nor can those who want to do it find the supporting resources. Work in curriculum design has not been done, nor do

the texts, workbooks, and teacher training that would undergird it exist. Finally, many parents are not aware that much of the cultural dissonance they and their children face is not essential or irremovable ; they often feel left out, cheated, angry, and resentful, without diagnosing this aspect of their frustration. Many do not see the importance of cultural, intellectual, and artistic forms in bringing inner life into harmony with outer. Their anti-intellectualism costs them more than they know. That it might be occasioned by the failure of intellectuals to come to their support does not occur to them.

What ought to be done ? So much needs to be done on every level that one hardly knows where to begin. We need a long-range strategy in multi-cultural self-understanding. All our cultural institutions need reform : from opera houses and dance companies to foundations, from public television to the entire broadcasting industry, from Sunday supplements to daily neighborhood reporting, from publishers to statisticians, from public opinion surveys to boards of regents, from translators to writers of children's books, from moralists to church leaders, from school administrators to university researchers.

NEGATIVE REASONS FOR THE NEW ETHNICITY

1. *Suppressed anger.* Even a casual watcher of television can hardly help noticing the undercurrent of anger in most successful prime time shows : in Don Rickles, Archie Bunker, Maude, the Jeffersons, Rodney Dangerfield, the Smothers Brothers, and many others. A persistent claim is "lack of respect". One ingredient of this undifferentiated anger is the bad faith in which Anglo-conformity involves the major part of our population. The gap between public and private self-presentation is emotionally too costly. The policies of assimilation and acculturation, while admirable in many respects, demand an enormous quantum of repression. Each generation is obliged to shape its emotional pattern to a public standard native to very few. (Even Anglo-Americans are forced away from old and respected habits. A man's word is no longer his bond.)

2. *Distorted self-knowledge.* Without a culturally sophisticated self-understanding, the models and standards one applies to oneself may not be in keeping with one's own resources. One

pretends, or tries to be, what one is not. One is ignorant of the ample historical repertoire more nearly attuned to one's own possibilities. An assumption should here be made explicit: the human being is not entirely malleable, a *tabula rasa*, an Eliza Doolittle. After a certain age, any re-structuring of the psyche carries with it certain costs. Human beings are extraordinarily free, and it is a mistake to underestimate their freedom; but they are not pure spirits, and total conversions are exceedingly rare. In most of us, the limits of "assimilation," "acculturation," or even "consciousness-raising" are quite impressive. (*Plus ça change, plus la meme chose.*)

3. *Inadequate social policy.* If one assumes that all whites are homogeneous in culture, perception, values, and needs, and if one is satisfied to formulate social policy around issues of race, great resentments will certainly be stirred in those who feel called upon to be understanding while feeling acutely misunderstood.

4. *Wasted resources for international understanding.* An event can hardly happen any place upon this planet without galvanizing some cultural group in the United States. Revolution in Cyprus, a tornado in the Dominican Republic, danger in Thailand, a political struggle in Puerto Rico, repression in South Africa, war in the Middle East, an uprising in Prague or Budapest—each of these events travels as though on a planetary nervous system to nerve endings in some American citizens. Yet far from encouraging our citizens to become expert in their native languages and cultures, so as to make the United States the most sensitive and intelligent of all nations in multi-cultural understanding, we have, as it were, plucked out our eyes and stuffed our ears. The same cultural arrogance that leads to the disvaluation of "foreigners" who immigrate here often marks our conduct, even when it springs from good will and good intentions, abroad.

5. *The constricton of the creative arts.* In a healthy culture, the streams of interior life and ordinary circumstances among all the people feed the streams of high literature, music, and the arts. How unprepossessing are the homes of Beethoven, Mozart, Shakespeare, Goethe, and others! Classic works spring from and codify perceptions that great and small, each in due measure, appreciate. In the United States, a marked class and ethnic bias seems to render such high culture as we attain—far too little—too often

unrooted and inaccessible. (The secret to the success of Jewish writers and artists is that they have been brilliantly particular and universal.) These are difficult issues, but a few suggestions may at least open the matter up. One of the greatest traumatic experiences of history was the separation of millions of individuals from their families and roots in the most massive migration of human history. Yet our playwrights, novelists, and cinematographers have virtually neglected the anguish and ambivalence involved, though they are still in living memory and continuing experience.

Again, public television affects a class bias so remarkable it cries out for popular revolt ; its programs are aimed almost solely to the tastes and interests of the top ten percent of the population, in income, education, and professional standing. It is not "public" television but elitist television ; not quality television, either, but most often merely snobbish. It goes often to Great Britain, but seldom to any other part of the world, for its dramas and imaginative materials. Where are dramas from Japan. Eastern Europe, Italy, Germany, France, Scandinavia, and elsewhere ?

In many parts of Europe, opera and high music and certain kinds of drama reach a public not confined solely to the upper classes. Here, too, if the arts spoke more directly to our diverse citizenry, rooted more in their own lives, fresh sources of creativity and public response might be opened up. Andy Warhol is a Czech from Pittsburgh, whose irreverence and sarcasm are rather more like those of *Good Soldier Schweik* than like those of Jonathan Swift ; I wish the cultural climate did not inhibit his turning to McKeesport. Wilkinsburg, Homestead, and East Mifflin Township for artistic materials. His soup cans might at least be Heinz.

POSITIVE REASONS FOR THE NEW ETHNICITY

1. *More accurate and liberating self-understanding.* Freedom to be oneself. Recognition of the difference between mere conformity and a genuine act of inner appropriation.
2. *Sharper discernment in interpersonal perception.* A distinction observed between individual characteristic and cultural styles ; diagnosis of the correct meaning of interpersonal cues, gestures,

behaviors, and speech,

3. *Less stereotyping and a more accurate sense of nuance in interpreting group behavior.* Anti-Catholic innuendos abound; behaviors and symbols of many groups are misinterpreted by others; anti-semitism and racism assume protean forms; even sophisticated people exhibit bigotries they are hardly aware of. It is impossible to develop a mental hygiene that prevents us from all possible errors of perception; but it is not impossible to develop a competence in multi-cultural insight that enables us to set off down the long road of mutual appreciation.

4. *A wiser and more multi-culturally differentiated social policy.* There are, of course, "limits to social policy;" but there is also a form of practical wisdom whose aim is cultural ecology: that is, at least as much respect for the survival of specific traditions and cultures as for the needs of rivers, forests, mountains, and air. For human beings do not learn virtue "in general," but rather a specific pattern of curiosity and intellectual development. Lacking it, one requires enormous compensations; with it, the rest comes naturally. "Family tradition" is the most concrete form of ethnic transmission. A social policy that injures family tradition destroys itself.

5. *A school curriculum, K-12 and in college as well, that begins in the social sub-conscious of individuals, encourages them to explore their own social (not merely solipsistic) resources, and teaches them to respond accurately to the cultural and individual differences others also present.* Such a curriculum would not only "cover ground" but would also "touch ground". In my own village, perhaps sixty percent of the population is Italian-American. I deeply wish the school offered courses in Italian language and culture, in which our children could also be enrolled. There are only a few Slavic families here, so courses in Slovak (which I would also like to take) are not practical. It would be of some help in our village if each of our several communities knew more about itself and its neighbors; as it is, the children study Japan, Mexico, anything not too close to home. Here as in most localities, the number of ethnic traditions is not infinite but rather small: five or six would cover nearly ninety-five percent of us. (Even our suburbs are remarkably, if subtly, ethnic-specific.) Older people who retain a native language should be encouraged to perfect

their skills, to bring them up to date, and to give them a wider cultural range. Many immigrants speak non-modern, peasant dialects only. My brothers and I were encouraged to "forget" Slovak, but given credit for learning Spanish, or French, or Latin.

6. *An international multi-cultural competence encouraged throughout our population at every level.* The U. S. ought to be the nation in the world most responsive to cultural currents at every point on the planet. Our citizens ought to be rewarded for keeping in contact with their cultures of origin.

A PLANETARY VISION

America belongs to the entire planet. For three generations, we have tried to unify our population, at severe emotional cost. Much good came of this effort. It is now time to deepen, encourage, and draw upon the divergent traditions of our many peoples, mirror of the planet's diversity.

Notes Toward A History of Scandinavian Educational Initiatives : Glimpses from Saskatchewan's Past

Almost sixty years ago today, the lead editorial in *Norrøna*, a Winnipeg-based Norwegian-language newspaper, called attention to an historic undertaking by Norwegians in Saskatchewan ;

The laying yesterday of the cornerstone for the new \$ 15,000 dormitory at Outlook College, Outlook, Sask., is an important event in the history of the Norwegian people of Canada and deserves more than passing mention in these columns

Less than six years ago, a few sturdy pioneers met in the little Nary school house and formed the Norwegian Lutheran College Association, for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an institution of learning within the province of Saskatchewan.

It was in no spirit of clannishness that the Norwegian pioneers took steps to establish a higher education institution. A great many of them had learned from experience in the United States, the value of such institutions for training teachers and community leaders, and they realized the need for teachers and leaders in a rapidly growing province. In this view, the founders of Outlook College are upheld by no less an authority than Dr. Foght, who recently conducted a survey of Saskatchewan's school system. Dr. Foght points out most forcefully that it would "be a great mistake to evolve a school system without due regard for the divergent elements of which Saskatchewan's exceedingly heterogeneous population is comprised.

An earlier version of this paper was presented to the National History of Education Society Conference, University of California - Berkeley, November, 2-4, 1975.

The alien must be understood first of all. His own inheritance from foreign shores must be given full valuation. Patiently, sympathetically, he must be led, and by teachers of the highest Canadian ideals who have special fitness and training for the problem."¹

As historians of Canadian education can testify, the high expectations alluded to in the foregoing were more than a little optimistic.² Nevertheless, this editorial might serve as a useful point of departure for a discussion of the Scandinavians' educational experiences in Canada. It has long been the conventional wisdom that Scandinavians never had any significant "problems" either in terms of their willingness to accept the benefits of public education, or in becoming rapidly acculturated to the values of the dominant, or host society.³ In general, this might be true but it would be well to recall the questions which Timothy Smith asked a few years earlier in this respect. The central thrust of his inquiry was clear: what did we know with certainty, of either the expectations or accomplishments of immigrants whose own literature on a variety of subjects we had often failed to consult, and for whom we had assumed, quite arbitrarily, that compulsory public education was a New World *desideratum*?⁴

My response to Professor Smith is that we do not know enough. This investigation will attempt to answer some specific questions about the Scandinavians relative to education, but encompassing somewhat more than the public education domain. I would want to inquire if there were factors operating within the immigrant community—commitment to a value system, the literary and educational traditions among those immigrants, the influence of spokesmen in their own group—and to assess how germane these were to the total educational experience of Scandinavians. In so doing I remain mindful of the caveat proffered recently by Olneck and Lazerson that there "was no single immigrant experience in the schools," or, one might add, anywhere else for that matter.⁵ But I have attempted to define experience as pertaining to what Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes said and actually observed about events and facts related to education. It is my belief that the judicious selection and analysis of evidence drawn from within the Scandinavian community—the foreign-language press, memoirs, biographies, and interviews—will get

us closer to answering Smith's challenge about our lack of knowledge of immigrant education.

To return, then, to the editorial judgment on the historic significance of Outlook College. We can best appreciate the bold and precarious nature of this and of other Scandinavian educational ventures, when set against the background of population and geography. Never very numerous, Scandinavians comprised just over one half per cent of the population in 1901, some 31,000 in all. In the next two decades this total had increased to 167,000. The latter figure includes 36,000 who were American-born and had immigrated north, chiefly to Manitoba, Saskatchewan, or Alberta.⁶ But these figures are even less impressive when one looks at the thin line of scattered, isolated communities stretching from the Hellerup (later New Denmark) in New Brunswick, to Holberg and Cape Scott on the north-western reaches of Vancouver Island. In between were minor concentrations such as the Danish Pass Lake settlement near Thunder Bay, Ontario, Ostenfeld, in Manitoba, and Dalum, Standard and Dickson, in Alberta. The Swedes were represented in New Stockholm just west of the Manitoba boundary, in Falun, Calmar, and Claresholm, Alberta while the Norwegians were most heavily concentrated in the Camrose region south-east of Edmonton.⁷ It is true that substantial members were to be found in the major urban areas as well, but a signal characteristic of Scandinavian settlement was that it tended to be widely dispersed and linked only tenuously by such agencies as the church, or the foreign-language press during the first three decades of this century.⁸

It becomes clear upon closer examination of the undertaking at Outlook, that the church played a central role in its establishment. A Pastor Sven Njaa, from Minnesota, was leader among the small group of lay and church people who met in 1911 to plan the school. Njaa, who died in the United States three years ago at the advanced age of 102, seems to have been one of those tireless organizers whose missionary zeal had him visiting every Norwegian settlement of consequence in Saskatchewan.⁹ In spite of the fact that Outlook was denominational—it was advertized as a "A Christian High School for Boys and Girls"—its curriculum listed English for newcomers, winter short courses for completion of the regular elementary schooling, preparatory courses for those

who wished to write the governmental eight grade examinations, a two year Third Class Teacher's Diploma course, and a one year Parochial Teacher's course.¹⁰

However, there were individuals like P. M. Henricks who saw the institution essentially as a significant centre for "the safeguarding of the Norwegian heritage and maintaining the ties with the Motherland."¹¹ Henricks had pioneered for over thirty years in Minnesota, and served in the state legislature there on three occasions, before spearheading the immigrant movement to Outlook. When the school celebrated its tenth anniversary Henricks noted: "I am proud that the Norwegians in Outlook have built this school, it has already enrolled 120 students Now the school is on the move and will stand as a centre for Norwegian culture in Saskatchewan."¹²

Henricks' estimate of the worth and potential of the school was given eloquent support by another speaker in the year following the celebration. O. B. Grimely's comments were intended for a wider audience of Norwegians, and were perhaps calculated to emphasize that theirs was a tradition well suited to this new country, precisely because of its deep roots in the Old World:

Both schools [Outlook and Camrose] are sending out graduates each year and they go forth as both English and Norwegian teachers. They have grown up and been brought up in Norwegian homes and they bring with them to their work the ideals of home and of the Norwegian high school. They take with them respect for and understanding of the Norwegian language. They have been immersed in our culture and the great ideas which through the ages have spoken to our people in Norway's literature. This knowledge and these ideals will inevitably come through in their English as well as in their Norwegian teaching. In this way old Mother Norway's ideals will be spread the world over—in this way Norwegian culture and ideals will unite with the new national culture which is building in Canada. Only in this fashion can Norwegians become a building force in our new land. Only in this fashion can we do our duty as citizens in our new Fatherland.¹³

Knut Bergsagel, appointed principal of Outlook in 1924, estimated in his report two years later that over 800 first- and

second-generation Scandinavians had attended the school.¹⁴ Now officially retired, but still teaching conversational Norwegian in Saskatoon, Bergsagel is something of a representative Norwegian immigrant for whom education had always been of foremost importance. He emigrated from Stavanger to Minnesota in 1910, studied at St. Olafs' in Northfield, and the Luther Seminary in St. Paul. Throughout his subsequent career as teacher, pastor, and principal at Camrose and Outlook, he was regarded by one observer as "the most enthusiastic and inspirational leader and teacher of the young" on the prairies over the past half century.¹⁵

It is not surprising, of course, to find the churchmen and their supporters claiming as much as they did for the schools. But it would be inaccurate to suggest that other Scandinavians opposed to the church—they were numerous and often vehement in opposition—were less imaginative or resourceful in drawing upon a similar literary or educational background to enlighten their own countrymen and fellow Canadians. In some instances, immigrants came out of a milieu which had nurtured academic endeavour, and where debate, polemic and disputation in the larger socio-economic and political arena was a well established practice. The minor saga of the Hjelt brothers, who left their native Hedmark, Norway in 1907 to settle in south-western Saskatchewan, offers substantial evidence that such a background determined to quite an extent subsequent activity in the new land.

Andreas Hjelt, now into his ninetieth year, still farms several hundred acres of wheat land east of Shaunavon. He arrived in the area via La Crosse, Wisconsin, after having completed examinations in the Jonsberg Agricultural and Technical College in 1906. Apart from three visits to Norway in the 1920's, he has remained in Shaunavon where he has been a successful farmer. In a recent interview he spoke at length on his past experience and involvement in the Norwegian community in Saskatchewan. This interview was prefaced by a pithy disquisition on one of his current academic interests—the historiography of the Quisling episode in Norway—a topic on which he displayed a keen grasp of the literature. He made a number of points concerning early life in Shaunavon for the immigrants.

We had to do something during the long, cold winter evenings and as soon as *Norrøna* was established, (1910), we

naturally subscribed to it and followed the discussions in it. Many of us were brought up with books and some of us got several newspapers from Norway in those early years, too. I remember that Olsen (Ingvar Olsen, *Norrona* editor) used to encourage controversy and debate in the paper. There were some pretty radical statements made in those days¹⁶ and many wrote in, for and against the church, socialism, free enterprise, and the like. We learned a lot from the paper, not all of it useful, but it kept us in touch. You see, many of us knew English but we liked to keep up Norwegian.¹⁷

Of the Hjelt brothers, it was Ole who wore the mantle of polemicist and pamphleteer, some would say "educator", in the broader meaning of that word. Energetic and prolific, Ole Hjelt was an avowed socialist who had "an unshakeable belief in the power of speech and the written word" to bring about change in society.¹⁸ He expected no miracles in North America because, as he remarked, the New World was at the beginning of its enlightenment, this in reference to the tradition in Scandinavia of some sixty to seventy years education about social democracy and the principles of socialism.¹⁹

It is evident from much of Hjelt's writing that he was in accord with his ideological opponents in the Lutheran Church on the need to preserve the Norwegian heritage. "In Canada as well as in the United States," he wrote, "the Norseman comes under the cultural influence of the Anglo-Saxons An immigrant who can not be Americanized is 'no good' according to the Anglo-Saxon's interpretation [but] the Norseman in Canada, as in the U. S., must strive to protect his own language and his own culture."²⁰

It was in the columns of *Norrona* where the voice of Old Hjelt was heard most often and the earlier reference by Andreas to "some pretty radical statements" had particular application to him. One weekly feature was headed "Ole's Hand Grenades" in which the redoubtable socialist hurled his verbal explosives at monopoly capitalism, the Catholic Church, or the American Presidential system, while simultaneously espousing equality for women, cooperatives for farmers, and political education for the working class.²¹ In addition to his regular column Hjelt wrote front page articles on such topics as "World Revolutions", "Fixed

Wheat Prices" and "Workers and Peace", to name a few.²² Although Hjelt made no attempt to hide his prejudices, he had a keen sense of humour and often engaged in temperate, informed, and witty exchanges with his opponents, notably such individuals as Pastor Kjos of the Norwegian Lutheran Church. It is worth quoting at some length from one of his replies to Kjos to get a better idea of the man and his convictions:

My old friend Pastor Kjos has proudly proclaimed that he no longer wants a free subscription to *Norrøna*. And why? Because [it] has become a socialist newspaper.

The truth is that *Norrøna* has never been a socialist paper but what [it] has been and is now is this: a connecting link between the Norwegian people in Canada. The Norwegian people have all kinds of view-points They have diametrically opposed views about political, economic, social and religious questions. In order to do its work as a connecting link among Norwegians this paper has always been liberal towards all opinions and precisely that school of thought which Pastor Kjos represents, has the least grounds of all to complain; since *Norrøna* has always given wide coverage to those interests.²³

Hjelt questions whether the pastor really is serious when he seems to ask that the paper "forego handling the time's most critical issues and events and those ideas which underly these questions and events."

Hjelt continues:

It is the mission of written history to record and hand on to the coming generations accounts of what has happened and what ideologies have dominated mankind in earlier times. But it is the newspaper's mission to record contemporary history The Catholic press itself the most unrelievedly hostile press to [socialism] has seen fit to address itself to the time's burning issues. I have for a long time subscribed to *Le Devoir* (Henri Bourassa's paper) and *La Croix* and *L'Idéal Catholique* (edited and managed by Cardinal Joseph Bégin) All these newspapers have been filled with the news of socialism in all countries.²⁴

Hjelt concludes his extended response to the pastor by mischievously disclosing that he (Hjelt) had once stayed over night at

the pastor's home and had to share his bed. "If my friend could sleep a whole night in the same bed with a red socialist without injury to soul or body he can perhaps tolerate reading about the deeper vital issues in *Norrøna*!"²⁵

Finally it should be noted as a mark of Hjelt's dedication, that he had a number of books printed at his own expense while he lived near Shaunavon. One volume entitled *Pioneering on the Prairie*²⁶ is a factual account of the arrival of the early immigrants and Hjelt had both English and Norwegian versions published. Never willing to relinquish an opportunity to educate the community, he used fictitious names but highly recognizable characters in the work to allow him to satirize convention, and to vigorously promote his own social, economic, and political philosophy.²⁷

When Olneck and Lazerson discussed the school achievements of immigrants, they made a point about ethnic culture that has special pertinence to what I have been saying of the Norwegians in Saskatchewan: "What different groups think about learning, schools, and teachers, how they see public institutions in general, their belief in opportunity and confidence in individual effort, and the character of demands placed on children are not simply the effects of economic level. In the case of European immigrants they were patterns, evolved in the Old World, which shaped group responses to institutions and partially conditioned the manner in which groups adapted to society."²⁸

It is not possible to document precisely how Old World attitudes and patterns contributed directly to the educational experience that Scandinavians underwent in Canada. We know that the literacy rate among these people was consistently the highest of any non-British immigrant group in the country. Similarly, the percentage of Scandinavian children of school age in attendance in any given decade is also impressive.²⁹ I have suggested to this point, with considerable additional evidence in the notes, that there was a particular group attitude about learning. Elsewhere I have documented for such localities as Bella Coola and Bardo that a combined church-lay-teacher leadership had been strongly impressed with, and successful in continuing the Old Country commitment to education.³⁰ However, I should like now to cite some additional evidence to underscore my

contention that places like Bardo and Bella Coola were not exceptional localities. For our purposes, it will be sufficient to examine two or three "typical" accounts by immigrants concerning the first phase of settlement, to determine how they saw their priorities at that stage.

"The Swedes, when they first came to Young," wrote one observer, "did not realize how big the country was. They knew they were going to a place called North West Territory [sic] where everything was free. No one had heard of sod huts, roofs that leaked, dirt floors. Most of them missed relatives and friends They were practical and industrious but they also appreciated culture and art They valued education. Several of the Magnusson children became teachers."³¹

According to Annie Larson, Young's distinguishing feature was that it was a *Swedish* settlement—Swedes took the leadership in establishing the school, the first church, and a literary club to which "the best books in Swedish literature were brought" She emphasized, however, that even though Swedes had their own church and library "they were never clannish [but] took their place with their English speaking neighbours"³²

For the Hadeland emigrants who founded a colony near Southey in 1903, schooling was also seen to be extremely important. Peder Nelson recounts how these Norwegians from the noted glassware centre in southern Norway, combined their desire for cleanliness with some elementary learning in their rough prairie houses. "We could make them [the houses] neat and comfortable inside with either kalsomine or by pasting old newspapers on the walls. There were no doubt many prairie boys and girls who learned to read Norwegian on walls covered with copies of *Norrøna* or *Canada-Posten*, *Skandinaven* or *Decorah-Posten*."³³ The Hadeland pioneers had their first school within two years and named it after one which the elders had attended in the Old Country.³⁴

In some instances, schools were started even though it was difficult to overcome both the lack of a trained teacher and of adequate facilities. O. B. Grimely has left a vivid account of one such venture which started west of North Battleford in 1910. Of the four original homesteaders, a Peter Sorlie, who had graduated from agricultural school in Norway and who had once headed a

young people's association in his home town, was nominated to be the teacher. With moral support from a Pastor Halvor Langvold, Sorlie got started: "School was opened in an unused barn. This school house had only one small window, or a peephole, to be more accurate, on one wall so the room was always half dark inside. The door was so low that the teacher and the older children had to bend down to get in. The roof was of poplar, covered with straw and grass. The floor was made of hewn poplar poles with large cracks in between them. During the writing period, the pupils were often down on their knees hunting for pencils in the cracks."³⁵ Apparently, heating arrangements were rather primitive, according to Grimley, and sometimes teacher and pupils had to periodically douse fires which started from sparks on the thatched roof.

In my presentation, I have held up to view occasional glimpses of an immigrant past from which we may dimly perceive the configuration of one people's educational history. I believe that history to be rich and probably much more complex than commonly assumed. It is, of course, incomplete and interpretation and analysis should await the labours of further research. But, possibly the cause of analysis can best be served here by reference to the simple, unsolicited statement which, in its unsophisticated directness, tells a great deal that is essential to any final interpretation. I would like to quote briefly from such a statement. It is by the executor of the estate of Paul Johansen and he writes in part: "Paul Johansen passed away August 27, 1974 Your Swedish readers may be interested in the story of this unassuming, remarkable man. Going through the records I found ... where [he] was referred to as Architect of the Swedish Rest Home I also found an illuminated scroll and medal from the American Union of Swedish Singers for meritorious work. Paul was assistant director and a pillar of the Bellman Male Chorus Paul came to Canada [from Norway] as a youngster in 1924 with basic education [He] is a real example of a self-educated man via correspondence courses. He left behind courses in English, mathematics, surveying, drafting, carpentry, architecture, art drawing, and believe me, he really knew those subjects He also played piano, violin, guitar, and cello and left quite a library on music and singing He had no near relatives in Canada, but ten brothers and sisters in Norway. We his friends in Canada,

really miss him."³⁶

Somehow, as we probe the records for the history of education of Canada's immigrants, we have to be careful that we do not overlook too many Paul Johansens.

FOOTNOTES

*Translation of Scandinavian language documents are by the writer.

1. *Norrona*, September 1, 1917. *Norrona* is a Norwegian-language newspaper published as a weekly in Winnipeg from 1910. It is still published however is now a bi-weekly and has been published in Vancouver for the past five years.
2. *Canadian Education: A History*, eds. J. D. Wilson et al (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970) is the standard reference on Canadian educational history but consult Cornelius J. Jaenen "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada," *Paedagogica Historica*, X, No. 3 (1970) for an account of problems a minority group encountered in trying to resolve its educational priorities.
3. I have challenged this point in some detail in my "Education on the Frontier: Scandinavian Immigrants in Western Canada," *Canadian and International Education* (December, 1972). However, see O. Koivukangas, *Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia Before World War II* (Turku: Institute for Migration Studies, 1974) for a traditional interpretation. I have indicated in notes of a paper presented to the Western Canada Studies Conference (March 1975), "Scandinavian Experiences on the Prairies, 1890-1920: The Frederiksens of Nokomis" that a particular image of the Scandinavian in immigrant historiography may have obscured the fact that these immigrants also had adjustments to make in re-settling in a new society.
4. See particularly his "New Approaches to the History of Immigration in Twentieth Century America," *AHR* LXXI No. 4 (July, 1966, and "Immigrant Social Aspirations and American Education, 1880-1930," *American Quarterly* XXI (Fall, 1919).
5. Michael R. Olneck and Marvin Lazerson, "The School Achievement of Immigrant Children: 1900-1930," *History of Education Quarterly* XIV No. 4 (Winter, 1974), p. 458.
6. Canada, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. I Population. See table 22, p. 353. Totals, which include a small number of Icelandic people, show the percentage as .58 in 1901, 1.49 in 1911 and 1.9 in 1921. By 1931 there were 34, 113 Danes, 92, 243 Norwegians, and 81, 306 Swedes. See *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931*, Vol. I, Summary, ch. viii, p. 234.
7. For details on Hellerup see "Danes Celebrate Centennial: From Hellerup to New Denmark, N. B.," *The Lur* (June, 1972). pp. 5-6; for Holberg and Cape Scott, Kenneth J. Bjork "The Founding of

Quatsino Colony." *Norwegian-American Studies* vol. 25 (1972). Idun Engberg's *Danske Nybyggere I Canadas Skove* (Kobenhavn: Gyldendal, 1950) is concerned chiefly with the Pass Lake Danes while Frank M. Paulsen's *Danish Settlements on the Canadian Prairies: Folk Traditions, Immigrant Experiences, and Local History* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, 1974) is result of fieldwork by Carlson Paulsen among Danes in Dickson, Dalum, and Standard in 1972. His work should be supplemented by *The History of Dalum* (Drumheller, Alberta: Bethlehem Lutheran Church, 1968). Gladys M. Halliwell and M. Zetta D. Persson, *Three Score and Ten 1886-1956 A Story of The Swedish Settlement of Stockholm and District* (Yorkton, Saskatchewan: 1959) has valuable detail on schools and pioneer Swedish immigrants. See also Jacob G. Johannessen "Nybyggerliv pa Praerien i Alberta," in Lars Chr. Sande, *De Som Dro Ut* (Stavanger: Dreyer Bok, 1974), 220 ff., for material on Norwegians along with Dahlie, *op. cit.* and Kenneth O. Bjork, "Scandinavian Migration to the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1893-1914," *Norwegian-American Studies*, vol. 26 (1974).

8. Dahlie, *op. cit.*
9. G. O. Evenson, "A Pioneer Pastor's First Year in Saskatchewan," *Western Viking*, July 6, 1973. Evenson details how the United Norwegian Lutheran Church's (*Den Forenede Kirke*) Home Missions committee in Canton, South Dakota was instrumental in persuading Njaa to leave his post in Hanley Falls, Minnesota to perform a mission for the church in Canada. Njaa homesteaded for some years near Weldon and returned to the U. S. in 1913 after a decade's work in Saskatchewan. See also K. Bergsagel "Outlook Lutheran College" *Canada Skandinaven*, July 2, 1926 for further information. Bergsagel indicates that a Pastor H. O. Gronlid was principal of Outlook for seven years, 1917-1924. An interview with Goulbrand Loken, himself a long-time principal and teacher at Outlook and Camrose Lutheran, disclosed that Outlook closed down temporarily (1936-1939) and that Loken had joined the school in the 1950's in order [to develop its academic program to balance the almost wholly theological orientation of the school since World War II. Interview, Calgary, September 18, 1975.
10. *Norrøna*, November 8, 1917. This issue also has an article "A Day of Celebration in Outlook" which tells of the future prospects— "highly promising"— of the Norwegian institution.
11. "Fre Kanada" *Nordmanns-Forbundet* Vol. 15 (1922), p. 37.
12. *Ibid.* Though the school celebrated its tenth anniversary, it had been functioning only since 1917. The celebration took into account the years of organization, and fund-raising activities from 1912 to 1917.
13. O. B. Grimley "Kanada brev" *Nordmanns-Forbundet*, Vol. 15 (1922), p. 244. It is interesting to note that a committee of three— Pastor Gronlid, Peter Myrvold, editor of an Outlook newspaper *Norden*, and Dr. H. O. Redden— presented a petition to the Department of Educa-

tion asking that Norwegian be accorded the same status in high schools as French or German. See *ibid.*, p. 245.

14. Elizabeth Anstensen, "50 Ars Kulturarbeide i Canada : Knut Bergsagel er 82 ar gammel," *Nordmanns-Forbundets Manedshefte*, reprinted in *Western Viking*, January 17, 1975. See also Elizabeth Anstensen "Gullbryllup in Canada," *Norrøna*, October 15, 1974 and Bergsagel, *op. cit.*
15. Interview with Gulbrand Løken, September 18, 1975 and Anstensen, "50 Ars Kulturarbeide in Canada".
16. The Hedmark area when the Hjelts came from at one time had the largest landholdings in Norway. However, it was also a region where class distinctions between the wealthy— or at least, influential landowner— and the "husmann" or tenant farmer and farm labourer was most pronounced. Once the large estates were broken up or divided through the system of primogeniture, the conditions exacerbated radicalism as it became even more difficult for individuals to get ahead in economic terms. However, it should be added that these were naturally strong conservative traditions in Hedmark as well and it is not unusual that there should have been lively debate and argument, given this background.
17. Information from Andreas Hjelt was garnered over two days of interviews in Shaunavon, September 20 and 21, 1975. It is interesting to note that the first matter Hjelt wished to discuss was his school experience at Jonsberg. He read from a list on which was noted the names of all his colleagues with whom he attended school, and included was their standing as well. According to Hjelt, they studied languages, sciences, and mathematics but also had practical courses in drafting, woodworking (sloyd), forestry, and agriculture. It was evident that Hjelt took considerable pride in his academic background and he was insistent on telling how much time he had spent reading on the Quisling affair. He said he had almost come to the view that there was some "conspiracy" to keep some of the information from reaching the Norwegian people. Additional information on Hjelt is found in personal correspondence to the writer December 20, 1973 and March 21, 1974 as well as occasional submissions to *Norrøna*.
18. Ole Hjelt died in Norway in May, 1974 in his ninetieth year. He had a rather remarkable career, first as a farmer in Shaunavon from 1907 to 1925. He returned to Norway after the death of his first wife in childbirth and a son from that marriage still lives in Norway. Ole farmed in Norway but his career there included ten years as secretary to the Labour Party in Akershus, and editor for the newspaper *Follo* in Ski. Though trained as a forester at Jonsberg, he devoted most of his talents to writing and political activity. He was also a noted marksman, as was Andreas, and as late as 1973 he shot 34 of 50 targets, standing at a distance of 300 meters. Apparently he was very active as an instructor in trap shooting for young people for the past three decades. He was

also somewhat of an accomplished musician and began the study of Russian in his eightieth year. Details about Ole Hjelt was excerpted from Hamar *Arbeidsblad*, May 10, 1974, the interview with Andreas Hjelt, and an interview with Mrs. Melvin Blake, Burnaby September 29, 1975. Mrs. Blake is Norwegian, a sister of Ole Hjelt's first wife.

19. "Canada" *Nordmanns-Forbundet* Vol. 14, (1921), p. 25.
20. Ole Hjelt, "Nybyggerliv i Kanda" *Nordmanns-Forbundet* Vol. 14, (1921), p. 171.
21. *Norrøna*. See, for example, January 9, 1919, April 24, 1919, May 8, 17, 1919, April 14, 1921, and November 17, 1921, for representative columns or articles.
22. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1919,
23. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1919.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.* An amusing footnote to this exchange is the impassioned defense of the pastor by a group of church women who are scandalized by Hjelt's remarks. However, they want to make it clear they are not supporting him because he is single—they are all *married* women! See *ibid.*, May 8, 1919.
26. Hjelt authored *Socialismen* (1916), and *Farmeren og Socialismen* (1917), both which were placed on the "forbidden" list by the Canadian and United States governments in 1919. See "Canada" *Nordmanns-Forbundet* Vol. 14 (1921), p. 24. This action must have prompted Hjelt's emotional reply to a Norwegian, T. Lone of Shaunavon, who criticized Ole's "socialistic" form of argument. Here is part of his response: "There exists a law in Canada called 'The Wartimes Election Act'. Are you familiar with that law, Mr. Lone? There exists two socialist parties here in Canada with official press organs, there are all legal but it is forbidden to belong to them. If a man possesses certain books he can get up to five years of hard labour and a fine of \$ 5,000 Is all this unknown to you, Mr. Lone?" *Norrøna*, May 8, 1919.
27. According to Sonja Peskleway, Andreas Hjelt's daughter, there are people in Shaunavon today who are still disturbed by Ole Hjelt's not so subtle character sketches in his book and she says that not many will admit to having either the English or Norwegian version, although she is certain there are copies in several homes. Interview September 21, 1975. I have a copy of the Norwegian version of Hjelt's book, the original of which is in the University of Oslo Archives.
28. Olneck and Lazerson, p. 472.
29. Canada, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931*, Vol. I Summary, p. 266, Table VIII. For example Scandinavians show only 1.12 illiteracy rate on average while figures for other groups run from 3.5 for Belgians, to 8.4 for Czechoslovaks, 10.3 (male) and 16.7 (female) for Russians, and 11.2 (male) and 14.7 (female) for Roumanians. For school attendance figures see *ibid.*, p. 1160, table 74. A most provocative finding, not wholly

substantiated yet, is the discovery by Swedish historians that evidence suggests the emigrants who left Sweden had the highest intellectual level of the people in a particular parish. See Kristian Hvidt, *Flight to America: The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York: Academic Press, 1975), pp. 108-109. Hvidt's detailed study from which this version has been extracted should be consulted for a fuller discussion of Scandinavian migration. See *Flugten til Amerika eller Drivskraefterne i Dansk Masseemigration 1868-1914* (Arhus, 1972).

30. Dahlie.

31. Annie Larson, "The Influence of Swedish Settlers in the District of Young," *Nya Svenska Pressen*, January 15, 1965, pp. 1, 6.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Peder Nelson, "Hadelendinger i Canada: De Forste Norske Nybyggere i Saskatchewan," *Nordmanns-Forbundet Manedshefte*, reprinted in *Western Viking*, March 9, 1973.

34. *Ibid.*

35. O. B. Grimley, "Nybyggerliv i Canada," *Nordmanns-Forbundet* Vol. 19. (1926), p. 316.

36. This letter was written by Steinar Steinhamar to the editor of *Nya Svenska Pressen*, February 15, 1975.

The Progressive Educator on Race, Ethnicity, Creativity and Planning: Harold Rugg in the 1930's

Scholars have recently begun to reexamine the history of progressive education in the United States. "Revisionist" historians who focus on the first two decades of the Twentieth Century have stressed its relationship to "social control" functions of the broader progressive movement. Cities swamped by immigrants and blacks witnessed the development of educational programs in Americanization and other areas of the curriculum intended to provide a docile working class. According to this point of view educators served specific middle and upper-class interests. Progressive reform in many urban areas was directed at preserving the political and economic power of elites and serving the needs of a rising corporate economy, often with the seeming support of the very groups that were being "controlled". Bureaucratization, centralization, expertise, efficiency and pedagogical "relevance" became bywords for a set of social and educational reforms characterized by State protection of private interests behind a curtain of public regulation. Indeed, such "heroes" as John Dewey, who were once seen as champions of democracy and the down-trodden are now portrayed as either purposely or inadvertently serving these rather conservative forces, some critics even suggesting that he was a racist.¹

Historians have also started to reappraise progressivism in later periods. While studies of the progressive education movement in the 1920s and 1930s, years of great growth in progressive practice and ideology, are not as plentiful or radical in tone as those concerning the years prior to World War I new interpretations that are cognizant of its complexity have been produced in increasing frequency. Hence progressivism has been linked closely to professionalism and specific kinds of occupational needs,

at least one scholar seeing it in terms of the interests of educators within the context of the school as a complex social organization.² It has been discussed as a means of altering consciousness on Depression conditions. Through its consummatory values children and their parents would be diverted away from the failures of the political economy and into self-expression and creativity.³ Many progressives, particularly those who were social reconstructionists, members of the "Social Frontier Group" at Teachers College, Columbia University and elsewhere, have been described as having a penchant for rather conservative forms of scientific social engineering and management, an urge that was bolstered by New Deal planning efforts.⁴ In sum, although scholars recognize that progressive education has been a very complex phenomenon it is being scrutinized in an increasingly critical and sophisticated manner, much as American liberalism has itself been recently subject to revision.

In spite of these thrusts in research very few historians have looked at the ways in which the progressives' interest in consummatory values and social planning have been related and, although race and matters of assimilation are beginning to be discussed, little is known about the attitudes of progressive educators on race and ethnicity, the general line of argument being that they were either very conservative or were uninterested. In order to partially redress these gaps in scholarship this paper will briefly examine the public writings of one influential progressive in the years between World War I and II. This educator is Harold Rugg, an individual who may have best represented a position which juxtaposed the uses of creativity and social planning for the purpose of creating rational and consensually based change in a period during which such "divisive" issues as race and ethnicity began to assume a place on the agendas of numerous progressives.

Blacks, Assimilation, Schooling and Consent

Although it is difficult to assess his influence Rugg's uniqueness is apparent. Lawrence Cremin, the pre-eminent scholar of progressivism, has suggested that *THE CHILD-CENTRED SCHOOL*, which Rugg wrote with Ann Schumaker in 1928, was "the characteristic progressivist statement of its decade."⁴ His later textbooks, according to Clarence Karier, a current "revisionist," were

"the clearest and most concrete attempt on the part of any social reconstructionist in the Twentieth Century to change the curriculum of the schools directly along social reconstructionist lines."⁵ Deeply influenced by Charles Beard, James Harvey Robinson, Frederick Jackson Turner and other progressive social scientists Rugg believed that the curriculum could exert a powerful enough impact on individual students so that the attitudes necessary for social change could be nurtured by the school. The ways in which he handled questions of race and ethnicity, therefore, provide insight into his concept of social change through schooling and the "place" of minority groups and ethnics in the world view of the progressive educator. Moreover, since progressives placed considerable emphasis on "the real world" and the virtues of empirical study and experimentation the case of Rugg illustrates the extent to which progressives were able to look objectively at the pluralistic nature of American social life at a time when social consensus became increasingly important to social reconstructionists.

Unfortunately, Rugg showed little understanding of the relationship between ethnicity and American social structure and he did not distinguish between the status of blacks and other ethnic groups. His references to race and ethnicity were not grounded in careful consideration of socio-historical context and, for an individual interested in creativity and aesthetics, his work showed a highly inaccurate knowledge of ethnic art and culture.

Marie Carpenter, in her exhaustive *THE TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS* (1941), for example, found that Rugg was less sympathetic to blacks than most of the other authors she studied, many of whom could hardly be classified as "progressive". The black man he passed along to millions of school children, she discovered, was Booker T, Washington and the characters located in *UNCLE REMUS* and *UNCLE TOM'S CABIN*.⁶ Generally ignoring the condition of blacks under enslavement he contended that abolitionist claims were exaggerated. Slaves, he wrote in terms of much *au courant* conservative analysis, were not much worse off than poor white workers.⁷ Indeed, in *AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN CULTURE* (1931) Rugg suggested that if blacks had been a "difficult social problem," they were making

good use of education to provide for social uplift. As an example he cited the accommodationist Washington's attempts to make the black "a self-supporting member of society, respected for his contribution to the common welfare."⁸ While noting black contributions to the development of jazz he stressed to his readers that their real importance to music was to be found in the work of the white Stephen Foster. Blacks of importance to American life and culture were Paul Robeson, Bill Robinson, Phyllis Wheatly, Countee Cullen, and W. E. B. DuBois (as novelist only) and he mentioned minstrel shows in a positive vein giving little attention to the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s.

One Rugg scholar has written that as a student of creativity, Rugg combined "social engineering and self-cultivation" to use schooling for building an awareness of existing social problems through the development of creative and cultured individuals.¹⁰ This may be an accurate description of what he wanted to accomplish with the learner. His writing on blacks, though, indicates interest primarily in the popular culture of which many whites were generally aware. He attempted to suggest that blacks had "contributed" positively to mainstream culture (a common tact of progressive educators in the 1930's)¹¹ but he had little interest in the social perimeters of this creativity. His "knowledge" of blacks and white ethnics was more related to a concern for "progress" of an orderly nature than a reflection of existing empirical research or careful inquiry on his part.

Rugg's approach to social issues must be seen against the backdrop of his advocacy of what he called "the Great Society" or "the Great Technocracy". Highly mobile and interactional, this newly emerging social order required consensus on core American ideals and goals for such common agreement, it was held by many progressive intellectuals, would serve as the "glue" for a diverse and complex society facing the storms of rapid industrial and technological growth and periodic economic crisis. Hence, it is not surprising that he blurred pluralist and melting pot conceptions of assimilation and acculturation. In 1931, for example, he noted that

On the one hand, there is the task of making the immigrant and the Negro a real part of American life, making them citizens, teaching them the fine ideals of our people, and

educating them to be tolerant of the difficulties ahead of the American people and determined to help solve them.

On the other hand, there is the task of learning from the immigrant and the Negro the many fine things which they have to contribute to American culture. America is indeed becoming the melting pot of the world. Every nationality has sent us fine representatives of its civilization and culture. It is our task to be tolerant of their different ways of living and to recognize their contributions with our own customs and interests. Only thus will America achieve the fine world culture to which it aspires.¹²

Finding substantial differences between American and Old World culture Rugg worried over "how to make a unified American people out of the complex mixture of nationalities in the United States" when some newcomers attempted to become "true Americans" and others clung to the culture and customs of their homelands.¹³ To create a "new civilization" it would be necessary to combine desirable qualities from American life with "worthwhile" cultural traits from older cultures. Yet, in spite of this vague interest in the value of old traits, Rugg put overwhelming emphasis upon having immigrants conform to existing patterns of socialization and social life. The immigrant, for example, must learn to read and write so as to "think and feel about American life much as a native American would feel." He must move out of his own ethnic surroundings and

live in a thoroughly representative American neighborhood of his community— a necessity if one is to learn to speak the language with the same meaning and feeling as a native American does.

He had to adopt the symbols of American culture and take on American styles of dress, housing and diet, for

Even these external things play a part in determining personal culture; if one adopts American customs in these respects, there is somewhat greater probability that one will think and feel more like an American.¹⁴

The new American to Rugg, then, must not only assume the outward characteristics of American life but must be able to internalize language and cognitive processes to the point where he

was a new person, melted into the culture so that his very being was changed. Although he was, through much of his career, to show considerable interest in the psychological health of the individual, Rugg showed very little interest in the psychological conflicts which this process might create within individuals who were members of ethnic groups subject to assimilation and enculturation. Like many liberals of his and later periods he probably assumed that first and second generation Americans would suffer from a degree of marginality in the natural course of events. Furthermore, his interest was primarily centered on the psychological health of the "native American" or the individuals who belonged to the "majority group" in American society.

Rugg also provided for structural assimilation. Not only should ethnics leave their neighborhoods, but they must join churches, organizations and schools "in which native Americans are found in large numbers."¹⁵ Emotional attachment to American government, its ideals and institutions was also important. But aside from making schools and other institutions accessible to ethnics Rugg did not discuss what it was that Americans must do to facilitate this entry; much of the burden seems to have been placed upon the immigrant. His writing does indicate that some immigrant groups were perhaps in better position to make cultural contributions and adjustment than others. Virtually all of those, however, who brought to America "new ideas, new customs, new kinds of music, literature, and folk lore, new ideas about architecture, painting, sculpture, and the theatre," and aided the building of industrial processes, particularly in New England factories, were from the "old" immigration of the early and mid-Nineteenth Century. When referring to Eastern and Southern European migrations of later years he discussed quaint singing, dancing and marriage customs and the benefits of their physical labor, the latter receiving much emphasis in his writing on immigration.¹⁶

As one of the keys in the socialization process Rugg argued that

..... all phases of modern education, its philosophy, curriculum apparatus must spring directly from the culture of the people, whose social and personal problems should primarily determine the organization of its education, if our world-wide experiments in democracy are to succeed.

Moreover, to create his "Great Society," where "technology and

experiment (would) guide the economic design, Art and Religion guide the living design,"¹⁷ the "social and personal problems" of the citizenry must be understood accurately and presented realistically to all educational publics.

Despite the obvious flaws in his own understanding of black and ethnic life Rugg continued to advocate the use of realistic information on them in order to build democracy and tolerance. Hence in 1940 he told the Progressive Education Association that the school must play a vital role in the shaping of attitudes on these matters by promoting intercultural understanding, knowledge of foreign cultures and democracy through the very "life" of the school.¹⁸ This position may be best be understood by the reconstructionist statement Rugg penned for the John Dewey Society's *DEMOCRACY AND THE CURRICULUM* a year earlier. Expressing what was probably the desire of all the authors who contributed to the volume he wrote that there must be brought "forth on this continent—in some form of cooperative commonwealth—the civilization of economic abundance, democratic behavior, and the integrity of expression which is now potentially available."¹⁹ Democracy, he wrote, assumed freedom of expression and maximum individual development. Most importantly, it required a form of government based on popular consent.

Rugg's views on consent provide clues as to why his work generally emphasized cultural melting. A broad popular understanding or sharing of ideals and values, consent was a condition to be created through the educated development of critical judgment and objectivity. In the eyes of Dewey and others, it would be expressed through informal social relations of a free and open quality that would themselves serve as the basis for truly democratic political forms. As early as 1932 Rugg wrote that if America was to have truly representative democracy in view of its diverse races, nationalities, beliefs and practices, students must be taught that individual intelligence may be expressed through the "group mind" on matters regarding "industrial, social and political machinery." Modern industrial processes and a society containing so many immigrants, he observed, had produced an impasse on the question of citizenship, there was a serious cultural lag between material growth and democratic values, a recurring theme in much progressive social theory. Through "thorough-

ing reconstruction" of the curriculum, he continued, the school must provide the first vital step in the reestablishment of cultural homeostasis. "The public school," he wrote, "is our most potent agency for regeneration."²⁰

In the semi-autobiographical *THAT MEN MAY UNDERSTAND* (1941) Rugg traced his attempts to develop a social studies curriculum based upon an understanding of modern forces which limited the popular intelligence needed for mass democratic consent. Here he noted wide population distribution, increasing dependency upon the written word, the great diversity of language, social background and economic contrasts in the population and "the lack among educationists themselves of understanding of the psychology of meaning."²¹

Given the nature of change and the problem of lag, the psychology of consent became central to Rugg's concern for developing popular intelligence. It was also a target of educators interested in building intercultural "understanding", "communication", and tolerance. Fundamental to this psychology was the essentially irrational nature of stereotype formation, a problem which led to hatred and hindered rational consensus. Rugg's writing suggested that this psychological phenomenon was a cause of racial and ethnic conflict far more than some other progressives. But he was nevertheless in line with a trend in social reconstructionist thinking in the late 1930s which tended to see attitudes as causing fundamental social disorders²² and so he closely related the stereotype to the nature of inter-group communication and understanding. A progress of action-reaction, Rugg observed of stereotyping that

The culture of the group makes the man; the man constantly contributed his bit to the remarking of the culture. One important outcome of the process is the development of self-centered personalities. As the individual learns to defend himself against the egocentric world around him, as he reacts aggressively as well as self-defensively, he becomes increasingly egocentric himself.²³

Ego formation in a group context reflected the individual's desire for security or homeostasis and determined the nature of communication between groups—two of the underlying themes in the progressive's quest for inter-racial harmony and order. Human

beings, Rugg wrote, selected from stimuli presented by the environment in order to make connections with the world of meaning. They responded to cues,

... a conspicuous phrase or gesture or even in a total organic configuration: through trial and error which determine the extent to which he will be able to 'get along' with others.

In so doing the individual searching for adjustment

... learns then to make characteristic responses to the stimuli pressing in upon him. These are called stereotyped ways of the stimuli coming, through their development by adult society, to have abbreviated stereotype class names.²⁴

Rugg and most progressives did not perceive American society in terms of social class configurations or structure. Instead they tended to suggest that American democratic processes (and anti-democratic processes) were actually carried on through a variety of self-interest groups. While George Counts, for example, may have spoken of these interest groups in terms of plutocracy²⁵ Rugg was inclined to see them as groups of individuals who consensually shared the same views, some of which could be based on dangerous and irrational stereotypes. Stereotyping was a central function of such groups because they naturally reacted "to certain aspects of life—political, economic, social, racial, what not—with approximately the same stereotypes." Rugg thus approached the social nature of American life, not from the perspective of the sociologist, but from that of the educator concerned with the causative functions of attitudes, in this sense he leaned towards a social-psychological perspective. What he called "in-groups" and "out-groups" often were in conflict and

Thus confused mixture of points of view, opinions, creeds, beliefs, and the like, all organized and stamped and labeled, becomes the psychological base of human culture. And as each mind struggles to comprehend this mixture it gets itself similarly organized. When one individual reacts to another he sees the other not as the mysterious and complex personality that he is; rather he sees him as a composite of traits which he has learned to associate with members of various groups. He pigeonholes and classifies the other under abbreviated, stereotype class names—Jew, Gentile, Christian, Catholic, radical, liberal, conservative, reactionary, Bolshevik,

Communist, Negro, Mason, D. A. R., a labor leader, a Harvard man, a professional athlete, a banker, a gangster, a United States Senator, a political agitator, what not.²⁶

This compositing of traits, Rugg was quick to point out, was not merely a function of in-group life. It was also encouraged through such highly impersonal agencies as the press and public opinion, the

..... subtle psychological atmosphere which pervades the home, the neighborhood, the social group meetings, the community as a whole and the nation. It presses on the individual constantly, sometimes overtly and sometimes imperceptively, but always bringing influence to bear.²⁷

The critical problem of establishing "common understanding" or consent in a democracy was clearly effected by the complexity of meanings available to describe any situation as well as by the group and institutional determinants of language, symbols, and terminology. Rugg obviously worried that consensus could become virtually impossible in view of this plethora of stimuli, many of which had class stereotype overtones, others of which were intimately related to acculturation within one's own group. "The consequent difficulty of building solidarity of point of view or securing universal 'consent,' and of producing joint action then becomes clear," he wrote. Without such consensus "successful democratic action is thwarted."²⁸

Within this construct the perils of pluralism become obvious. Unless the society at large is characterized by forms of education which deal fundamentally with meanings and is dominated by ideals or values which can determine the selection and interpretation of stimuli, there may be dangerous insecurity, fear, prejudice and divisive conflict; too much egocentric and ethnocentric behavior. To Rugg, one way out of this dilemma was to be found in the careful use of the social studies in the progressive school curriculum through which children could be shown the false premises and information upon which many fear-inducing stereotypes were built. Moreover, because of the exigencies of social life in the Depression Rugg and others stressed in the materials prepared for the curriculum the contributions of various ethnic groups to the greater American society in such a way as to eliminate fear on the part of "dominant" groups and not arouse undue

group pride or aggressiveness. The long term objective was not to be strengthened ethnic pluralism or racial pride but a benevolent pluralism that would permit a reconstructed society to be built in an orderly and peaceful fashion.²⁹

It is evident that this new society was to be built on the psychological foundations of consent and not upon a total reconstruction of the economic and institutional life of the Nation. To understand this position it is necessary to comprehend the way Rugg linked psychology and economics. In *DEMOCRACY AND THE CURRICULUM* he referred to a complex network of cultural and psychological variables and stimuli that determined the nature of social life. "Even more directive and formulating than the external economic civilization and the social institutions," Rugg wrote,

..... is the 'psychology' of the people. The social arrangements of a people are created primarily by their drives, their attitudes, their ideas. What they have in their heads, what they want most, what they fear most, determined what they do and what they are. Their desires dominate their social psychology. To name only a few examples, there are the desires for personal security, for a better living, for social approval. But the social psychology of a people also includes the all-pervasive 'climate of opinion' of wider community, molded by such directive concepts and attitudes as freedom, equality of opportunity, justice, patriotism, and the like."³⁰

In view of this analysis the role of the educator should be clear. But what of the State? "We are convinced," Rugg wrote of the survival of democracy, that

"that can take place only when our statesmen have designed and built adequate systems of social control over the economic system and educators have designed and built an adequate social intelligence in the bulk of the people."³¹

Hence, if Rugg found it valuable to present the cultural contributions of immigrants and blacks to children and contended that well-adjusted and psychologically adjusted children could help in the building of consensus the educational prerequisites of progress were extended into the area of broader public policy and the management functions of the liberal state.

The New Deal Model

Despite many qualms John Dewey, George S. Counts, William Kilpatrick and other social reconstructionists came, by the end of the decade of the 1930s, to find praiseworthy qualities in the policies of the Roosevelt Administration. At times they referred to specific programs but generally they were enthusiastic over the ways in which it set new standards, provided models for rational planning and the exercise of expertise, and was sensitive to the need for the State to serve broadly educative functions through its own exercise of innovative and experimental intelligence. Rugg was no exception.

In 1939 he wrote of his enthusiasm for the New Deal, particularly its Tennessee Valley Authority, which he called "the finest social laboratory in our country—yes—in any country today of the twenty I have visited!" Indeed, his excitement about the social design possibilities posed by the Depression was considerable. Seldom dwelling upon its terrible impact on American society he tended to emphasize its possibilities for encouraging progress. Hence,

The Great Depression precipitated a deep social crisis and with it a breath-taking era of creative effort. The breakdown of critical parts of the social system after 1929 had the positive effect of galvanizing much of our latent ability into dynamic action; a brave brigade of creative workers quickly emerged to study the problems and to design ways out. Already our years appear to mark the beginning of the most creative era in American history.³²

Although Rugg paid homage to the New Deal's efforts at preserving democracy by trying to maintain full employment and full production³³ it is apparent that its true significance was to be found in the models developed by Roosevelt, most especially his effort to create a National Council of Design to confront not only economic matters but the general problem of cultural lag. "For the first time in our history," Rugg claimed,

bold, disinterested, cooperative study of a 'highly complex and rapidly changing society, advancing at uneven rates and causing great problems of unemployment and of class and racial conflict' was substituted for 'tradition, unintelligence, inertia, indifference, emotion or the raw will to power.'³⁴

It is clear that Rugg did not advocate socialism. He looked instead favorably on the Roosevelt Administration's efforts to define a middle path between government ownership and laissez faire capitalism, a position he saw as resembling Thorsten Veblen's approach to social engineering.³⁵ Obviously, what was needed in the midst of Depression, was not a complete overhauling of the social and economic system, but *balance* and *redefinition* of free enterprise. On this point his position resembled that of the authors of President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends which influenced his thinking throughout the Depression. This group of social scientists, educators and businessmen released a massive report early in the decade recommending that public agencies must keep aggressive and anti-social tendencies of the "too-active and too-free enterprisers within reasonable bounds."³⁶ The report was intended to limit the grosser aspects of competition while leaving the economic system essentially intact behind a wall of friendly regulation drawn up and enforced by carefully chosen experts.

Rugg's essential conservatism may be seen in other ways. Like many intellectuals in the late 1930s, he was critical of the Marxian class analysis, strongly denying he had ever advocated the overthrow of capitalism. Meaningful social reconstruction could come only through educative means and planning, although he also saw forms of direct political action as providing part of the consensual base of State policies. Most importantly, there was the strong suggestion in his work that ideas concerning democracy must lead to a strengthening of loyalty to American institutions and heroes; his earlier advice to immigrants was simply this recommendation *writ small*. Hence, part of his debt to Beard, Turner and other "new historians" was his belief in the uses and power of ideology.³⁷ Perhaps somewhat defensively he was to implore that loyalty to American ideals, institutions and even capitalism itself could be found in his 1930s texts,

Like Dewey, Rugg warned that an engineering mentality must not lead to "dictatorship by technicians,"³⁸ but also like Dewey he avoided specific discussion on the dangers and problems related to the bureaucratization that accompanied New Deal planning measures. He was thoroughly convinced that New Deal social engineers were essentially creative *arists* who "believed that

every generation should *face its social situation as a novel problem* and think things out for itself."³⁹ It was natural, then, that he should find the Research Committee on Social Trends' *RECENT SOCIAL TRENDS* the seminal document of the decade, "a wise and brave study motivated by the vision of a new world."⁴⁰ He was particularly interested in the work of two of the Report's authors, William Ogburn, the University of Chicago sociologist who developed the theory of cultural lag and advocated the peacetime use of forms of wartime national planning⁴¹ and Howard Odum, the University of North Carolina sociologist responsible for popularizing the concept of regionalism. Indeed, regionalism provides yet another example of how Rugg perceived cultural planning and provides additional insight into the manner in which he would deal with race and ethnicity.

Regionalism

Rugg, perhaps more than any other leading Northern progressive educator, was a strong advocate of regionalism, which he tied to his overall conception of the planning society. As with his references to the New Deal, he did not relate regionalism directly to the status of blacks or other ethnic groups. His attraction to it must be seen within the context of his interest in creativity and his desire for schema which were educative, scientific, directed at orderly change, and concerned with conserving much in American life. Regionalism was thus an appropriate subject. As developed in the 1930s by Howard Odum it was closely tied to national planning, an integration of the social, biological, physical sciences and the humanities. It also was compatible with the very nature of education, as illustrated in *THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN UTILIZING REGIONAL RESOURCES*, a document prepared for the Progressive Education Association in 1939.⁴²

IN THAT MEN MAY UNDERSTAND Rugg wrote that

One of the most exciting discoveries of my searches for creativeness in America has been the revelation of the awakening in regional social engineering. Impoverished land is being treated and brought to vigorous life again. Progress is being made toward controlling the destructive floods of our rivers. Regional reconstruction and design are moving forward. This is not merely the work of creative

engineers, agricultural experts and scientific students; millions of practical farmers, city people, businessmen and politicians as well are being brought to understand the need for a 'regional' outlook and are cooperating in far-reaching programs of design and reconstruction. The work of the TVA and the controversies it has raised have helped enormously in this awakening So the story of 'America rebuilds' grows longer and more encouraging. Widespread health programs, housing projects, and the like, are making the lives of our people more secure. New and better industrial designs, processes and materials are being invented. America is waking up to rebuild its life. The sustained-yield principle at last?¹³

Herein, one could see the preservation and rational control of natural resources as a model for human resource development.

It may be that regionalism was primarily an agrarian phenomenon and that Dewey, Kilpatrick, Boyd Bode and other major progressives came from rural America.¹⁴ There were, however, diverse strands of thought in the regionalist camp¹⁵—just as there were in progressive education—and men, such as Howard Mumford, who were advocates of metropolitan and urban planning were also favorably inclined to the potential of regionalism.¹⁶ Hence, it is evident that in their enthusiasm for such projects as the TVA, elements in both the Roosevelt Administration and the progressive education movement showed strong interest in the creation of scientifically based change through elevated uses of human intelligence not only to provide new models of economic organization, but to enhance and protect regional characteristics. Moreover, planning of this nature was often rationalized as an attempt to eliminate cultural and social lags—the South often being portrayed as a "backward" region—without destroying regional culture in the face of irrational urbanization, modernization and other social changes, some of which were being "forced" from outside the South.

It is not surprising, then, that in his work Odum persistently showed strong concern for the cultural and social lives of Southern blacks. By 1936 he rejected racial inferiority, noted increased racial consciousness in the United States, and acknowledged that blacks were, with some justification, calling for change in their

condition.⁴⁷ Indeed, while the walls of segregation would not tumble rapidly down, Odum called for the creation of hope among blacks. Their expectations must be raised by presenting them with a realistic view of a better future.⁴⁸ This, he believed, could be done through regional planning and an increasing inclusion of blacks in the "social control of the region".⁴⁹ There must be more emphasis on political participation and an elimination of the most blatant aspects of discrimination while maintaining what Guy Johnson of the Commission of Interracial Cooperation called "the integrity of the races". This integrity, or separation, it was suggested, could somehow be maintained even as blacks were given what, according to Johnson, was full "political and civic equality".⁵⁰ So, if Odum, Johnson and other "New South" progressives did not call for an end to segregation they did raise forbidden questions on black political participation.

Northern progressive educators were sensitive to their "image" in the South. Most literature produced by the Progressive Education Association on and for the South steered clear of race. Hence, it is not surprising that materials produced on regionalism by the PEA avoided the issue. Nevertheless, *THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN UTILIZING REGIONAL RESOURCES*, which was written by Paul Hanna, an original member of the Board of Directors of *THE SOCIAL FRONTIER*, with the assistance of Rugg, Ogburn, Odum and Mumford reveals much regarding the progressive view of planned social change. It also provides insight into the relationship between "culture" and "expertise" for it was partly an attempt to introduce the concept of regional planning into the curriculum. Just as importantly, the authors essentially advocated this planning as an effort to decentralize and complement federal planning in order to encourage the preservation of cultural diversity or, if culture were defined nationally, cultural pluralism of a regional nature. Moreover, since the progressive view of social change entailed the elimination of cultural lags, regionalists also were sensitive that regional culture not be disturbed by progress to the point that unhealthy and imbalanced social disorder could ensue. In both cases homeostasis was essential.

It is also evident that the authors of the PEA's handbook on regionalism basically saw regionalism as providing for new forms

of association through which national problems might rationally be solved. "We need," they urged

somehow to unite all our creative energies, and to make scholarly research of the social scientists directive of our efforts, in studying the resources of the nation in relationship to the needs of the people who dwell in the United States. We need some time-space entity with which to coordinate the significant factors.⁵¹

Hanna, Rugg and their associates asked therefore that educators see the concept of regionalism as an important means of organizing and applying knowledge scientifically. At one level it necessitated the training of experts, men who, in the progressive world view, constituted something of an educated elite which by necessity must function bureaucratically, a notion which fits the role that many middle- and upper-class Southern progressives saw for themselves.⁵² At another level the school would assume an increasingly important role in determining social change, promoting national-regional balance (diminishing old sectional rivalries and disputes; regionalism was to some extent a modification of the Turnerian frontier thesis), and protecting the existing order. Noting, for example, the disruptive impact of migration and technology, they asserted that

..... history shows that man's exercise of his intelligence has enabled him to resolve the stress making the modifications in those parts of the cultural pattern demanded by changes which had taken place in other aspects of the configuration. Whether the introduction of a basic change will violently shatter the older pattern, or whether culture will remain a functionally integrated whole, will inevitably be determined by the degree to which intelligence is given free play in the realm of social invention What should education do at this time to enhance the free play of intelligence as the most promising tool for bridging the widening gap between technics and social arrangements?⁵³

The authors wrote that the answer to this question was to be found in George Renner's rhetorical question "Can the schools build a new social order?", which appeared in *THE SOCIAL FRONTIER* of April, 1939. His response was that "the query might better be do the schools have vision enough to save the one

we already have?"⁵⁴ Referring to a contention heavily supported in Hanna's book, Renner was quoted as noting that careful study of biological and physical resources and the need for their preservation had not been used in the past. Seeing this as a critical matter, he had written that social scientists had been too engrossed by institutional and ideological study and had overlooked the fact that the entire social structure was based upon natural resources that had always been taken for granted by most Americans.⁵⁵

Given this new interest in natural resources, Renner and Hanna thus moved in the direction of using schools to create an awareness of biotics and the need for expert management of natural resources. "Scientists already possess the necessary ideals," Renner wrote, and

Hence the task becomes one of transplanting ideas from the mind of the scientists to the minds of the populace. Lacking a minister of propaganda in the United States, the assignment clearly devolves upon our school system.⁵⁶

To Hanna, Rugg and their co-authors, then, regionalism was based on a foundation of resources which pointed out the "trusteeship" of ownership and the need for public control where necessary to protect these resources. The school was to indoctrinate children to see in regionalism scientifically proven models of control which could be applied to all of the culture. Unlike much of Odum's work, this publication did not emphasize folkways, mores and social patterns. In its discussion of the South it did not, as suggested above, mention blacks, a population tied intimately to regional patterns of life, to the regional economy, to the uses of resources and to the imbalances caused by migration. As with other resources they were to be controlled. Hence, as with Rugg's general approach to culture and education in the Depression years, the volume placed a strong burden upon the schools without developing a careful analysis of the intersection of ethnicity and the need for national order and consensus. It was "scientific" in that it made a case for scientific control, but paradoxically it only produced enough data to be seemingly convincing on the need for planning and the progressive school. Herein lies much of the conservatism of the progressive education movement.

Conclusion

The case of Harold Rugg raises numerous interesting questions about progressive education. Although this paper made no effort to dwell on his professional activities or political commitments—doubtlessly matters of importance which need far more historical research in order to further establish links between the occupational status and concerns of prominent progressives and their social thought—its analysis of his position on race and ethnicity reveals aspects of his social philosophy which have not been explored elsewhere. Given the “public” nature of his writing and the times in which he worked it sheds additional light on the extent to which creativity, planning, social consensus and the power of the school were linked in the progressive mind.

Rugg, like many of his social reconstructionist contemporaries, was a professional educator at a prestigious teacher education institution who was interested in increasing the powers of the educator in the process of modernization in a society beset by major contradictions in its social order. Far from being a Marxist he nevertheless recognized that social and cultural change under capitalism produced alienation, fear, and the unrest which could destroy a society which had as its core values belief in equality of opportunity, democratic expression and human dignity. Central to his concerns was a belief that change must be directed rationally by individuals and institutions which could provide expert leadership without further unbalancing the psychic resources of the nation. Hence, he searched for models, such as regionalism, which would protect social mores but which could also provide ideological justification for management and for massive educational endeavor.

In this context blacks and other ethnic groups were seen in terms of their “contribution” to an emerging mass society in which new forms of community life would replace those which represented either the old economic order or societies less advanced than the United States. Blacks and other ethnics were important elements in the fears and daily lives of many Americans. Hence, the nature of pluralism became problematic. It existed and the “differences” of blacks and others posed a serious problem not to uniformity but its divisiveness threatened consensus on major matters of belief. Not interested in pluralism's relation-

ship to the structural features of American life Rugg was more concerned that in a period of multiple national and international crises orderly change would prevail. Indeed, his work shows that the progressive educator was capable of dwelling not upon the inequities and injustices posed by economic breakdown but upon its opportunities.

Clearly, Rugg desired that a new class of educator-managers would emerge out of these conditions to prepare social attitudes and formulate public policy in such a way as to lessen fears and pave the way for planned progress and change. Hence, the exact nature of racial and ethnic life was important only insofar as it paved the way for this change and matters of power and self-determination were not only left unaddressed but rendered unimportant if not dangerous. Rugg, then, was a "pluralist" while being highly conservative on matters which those interested in the self-determining qualities of pluralism would find essential to the development of a truly democratic social order. His interest in creativity and self-expression must therefore be seen on two levels which are highly complimentary: in the sphere of the individual it was to be used to create well-adjusted people who would be attuned to democratic core values and the forms of social change desired by "creative" educator-managers. Planning was thereby to be conducted on a consensual base and an emerging technological society would gain the support of progressivism's consummatory values. As represented by Rugg this constitutes a merging of child-centeredness and social reconstruction. Given the increasingly ideological tone of "radical" social reconstructionist rhetoric in the late 1930s it may be contended that Rugg contributed to a tendency which masked the nature of American social realities in the name of progress. This phenomenon doubtlessly drove many progressives away from the empirical roots of much progressive thought and contributed to later inabilities to come fully to grips with such phenomena as discrimination along racial or ethnic lines, a matter that does not lend itself to easy management, as the current busing controversy in the United States illustrates.

FOOTNOTES

1. See especially Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools:*

The Illusion of Educational Change in America, Expanded Edition (New York : Praeger Publishers, 1975). One of the early "revisionists" Katz in this volume takes a retrospective view of his own as well as other new interpretations in its "Epilogue : Education, Reform, and American History—An Exchange," 147–194. See, as well, his bibliography. See also David B. Tyack, **The One Best System** (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1974) for an excellent if slightly muted study. A major debate is shaping up over John Dewey. For representative literature see Walter Feinberg, "Progressive Education and Social Planning," *Teachers College Record*, 73 (May 1972), 485–505 ; the following in the *History of Education Quarterly*, 15 (Spring 1975) ; Paul F. Bourke, "Philosophy and Social Criticism : John Dewey 1910–1920," 3–16 ; Charles L. Zerby, "John Dewey and the Polish Question : A Response to the Revisionist Historians," 17–30 ; Alan Lawson, "John Dewey and the Hope for Reform," 31–66 ; and J. Christopher Eisele, "John Dewey and the Immigrants," 67–85. See also Walter Feinberg, "On Reading Dewey," *History of Education Quarterly*, 15 (Winter 1975), 395–416, and Clarence J. Karier, "John Dewey and the New Liberalism : Some Reflections and Responses," 417–444 in the same issue of the *History of Education Quarterly*. For an additional view see Ronald K. Goodenow, "Tolerance and Pluralism in John Dewey's Social Thought : The 1930s", Forthcoming, *Educational Theory*.

2. See David Swift, **Ideology and Change in the Public Schools : The Latent Functions of Progressive Education** (Columbus : Charles E. Merrill and Company, 1969). For an excellent early study that is more sophisticated in its use of a sociology of knowledge perspective see C. Wright Mills, **Sociology and Pragmatism : The Higher Learning in America** : (New York : Oxford University Press, 1964).

For a perspective on Progressivism's consummatory values see Charles Burgess and Merle L. Borrowman, **What Doctrines to Embrace : Studies in the History of American Education** (Glenview : Scott, Foresman and Company, 1969), 113–141.

3. This general question is discussed at length in Walter Feinberg, **Reason and Rhetoric : The Intellectual Foundations of Twentieth Century Liberal Educational Policy** (New York : John Wiley and Sons, 1975).
4. Lawrence A. Cremin, **The Transformation of the School Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957** (New York : Vintage Books, 1961), 230. For an overview of the progressive movement, race and ethnicity which discuss briefly Rugg and other progressive educators see Ronald K. Goodenow, "The Progressive Educator, Race and Ethnicity in the Depression Years : An Overview," *History of Education Quarterly*, 15 (Winter 1975), 365–394.
5. Clarence Karier, **Man, Society, and Education** (Glenview : Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967), 241.
6. Marie Elizabeth Carpenter, **The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks : A Comparison of Changing Textbook Content, 1826 to 1939, With Developing Scholarship in the History of the Negro**

in the United States (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1941), 96-97. This study, conducted as a Ph. D. dissertation in the Philosophy Department at Columbia University, contains a comprehensive discussion of research on attitude formation in schools. Focusing on the social studies and on "controversial issues" she doubted the power of the school to fundamentally alter the attitude of children on race. She concluded that "the effect of teaching on group attitudes needs a great deal more of study and testing. Up to the present, the general conclusion is that given information does at times changes attitudes, but that the changes may not be lasting." (7) By the end of the decade similar comments were made by critics of prevailing techniques in intercultural education. See Chapter IX.

7. *Ibid.*, 115.

8. Harold Rugg, *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), 584-585.

9. *Ibid.*, 85-586.

10. Elmer A. Winters in "Man and His Changing Society: The Textbooks of Harold Rugg," *History of Education Quarterly*, 7 (Winter 1967), 493-514, discusses the influence of Beard, Robinson and Turner upon Rugg. Rugg had a strong belief, as Winters points out, in the power of texts and the curriculum to affect desirable social attitudes. See also Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Education* (Paterson: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1965), 557.

11. See Ronald K. Goodenow, "The Progressive Educator and Racial Tolerance: Intercultural Education 1931-1940," a paper presented to the American Educational Research Association (Washington, D. C., March 1975).

12. Rugg, *Problems of American Culture*, *op. cit.*, 590.

13. *Ibid.*, 553.

14. *Ibid.*, 561.

15. *Ibid.*, 562.

16. *Ibid.*, 556-579.

17. Harold Rugg. "The Great Technology," in E. G. Malherbe, editor, *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society* (Capetown and Johannesburg: JUTA Press, 1937), 34-36.

18. "Education and National Unity," *Intercultural Education News*, 2 (January 1941), 3.

19. Harold Rugg, editor, *Democracy and the Curriculum* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1939).

20. Harold Rugg, *America and Her Immigrants* (n. d., 1922). Cited in Rugg, *That Men May Understand* (New York: Doubleday Doran and Company, 1941), 226.

21. Rugg, *That Men May Understand*, *op. cit.*, 227-228.

22. See Goodenow, "The Progressive Educator, " *op. cit.*

23. *That Men May Understand*, *op. cit.*, 232.
24. *Ibid.*, 232-233.
25. See Ronald K. Goodenow and Wayne G. Urban, "George S. Counts (1889-1974): A Critical Appreciation," forthcoming, *The Educational Forum*.
26. *Ibid.*, 234.
27. *Ibid.*, 231.
28. *Ibid.*, 234.
29. Goodenow, "The Progressive Educator", *op. cit.*
30. Rugg, *Democracy and the Curriculum*, *op. cit.*, 6.
31. *Ibid.*, 17.
32. Harold Rugg, "Creative America: Can She Begin Again?", *Frontiers of Democracy*, 6 (October 1939), 9-11.
33. Harold Rugg, *The Teacher of Teachers: Frontiers of Theory and Practice in Teacher Education* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), 7-76.
34. *Ibid.*, 80.
35. *Ibid.*, See also Peter F. Corbone, Jr., "The Other Side of Harold Rugg," *History of Education Quarterly*, 9 (Fall 1971), 236-237. Corbone discusses early influences on Rugg's early thinking, with emphasis on Van Wyck Brooks, John Maynard Keynes, Harold Laski, Charles Beard, Veblen and others. See 267-270.
36. Rugg, *That Men May Understand*, *op. cit.*, 51-52. See the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933). The Committee consisted of Wesley C. Mitchell, Charles E. Merriam, Shelby M. Harrison, Alice Hamilton, William Ogburn and Howard Odum. Ogburn was Director of Research and Odum served as Assistant Director of Research. Charles Judd wrote a chapter on education, T. J. Wooster, Jr., this one on race, and Lawrence Frank contributed a chapter on childhood and youth. The impact of the Committee on social reconstructionist thought in the 1930s has yet to be effectively gauged.
37. *Ibid.*, 126. For additional elaboration see Feinberg, *Reason and Rhetoric*, *op. cit.*
38. Rugg, *That Men May Understand*, *op. cit.*, 145-147.
39. Harold Rugg, *Foundations for American Education* (Yonkers: World Book Company 1947), 302.
40. *Ibid.*, 304.
41. See Rugg, *That Men May Understand*, *op. cit.*, 224-225. In his *Foundations for American Education*, *op. cit.*, 292-294. Rugg found appeal in Ogburn's notion that during wartime governmental planning is most complete and efficient, and, indeed, is more advanced than technological planning.

42. Paul Hanna, *et. al.*, **The Role of Education in Utilizing Regional Resources** (Annotations of Selected Basic Printed Materials Useful in Secondary Schools and Colleges in Studying the Problems of Regional Planning) (Stanford : Progressive Education Association).
43. Rugg, **That Men May Understand**, *op. cit.*, 346-347.
44. See Solon T. Kimball and James E. McClellan, Jr., **Education and the New America** (New York : Vintage Books, 1962).
45. See Howard Odum, **Southern Regions of the United States** (Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 1936). For a thorough review of the place of Odum's work in the history of regionalist thought see George B. Tindall, "The Significance of Howard W. Odum to Southern History : A Preliminary Estimate," **The Journal of Southern History**, 24 (August 1958), 285-307. See also R. Alan Lawson, **The Failure of Independent Liberalism 1930-1941** (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), 133-147 and Goodenow, "The Progressive Educator, Race, and Ethnicity, *op. cit.*, 379.
46. For Mumford's interest in regionalism see Lawson, *op. cit.*, 203-209. and Lewis Mumford, **Techniques and Civilization** (New York : Harcourt and Company, 1934).
47. See Odum, *op. cit.*, 80-81.
48. *Ibid.*, 483.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*, 483. See also Howard Odum, **Race and Rumors of Race : Challenge to American Crisis** (Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 1943).
51. Hanna, *op. cit.*, 1-8.
52. For insights on recent Southern history, New South ideology and Southern progressivism see George B. Tindall, **The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945** (Baton Rouge : Louisiana State University Press, 1967 and Hugh G. Bailey, **Liberalism in the New South : Southern Social Reformers and the Progressive Movement** (Coral Gables : The University of Miami Press, 1969).
53. Hanna, *op. cit.*, 2 : 3.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, 2 : 4-5.
56. *Ibid.*, 2 : 5.

Ethnicity: Science, Being, and Educational Opportunity

Ethnicity : Science

Ethnicity is a noun not universally found in dictionaries. Nor is it found in glossaries nor indices of anthropological, sociological, or political science literature. Gould and Kolb's 1964 UNESCO volume, *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*¹ has no such entry. Nor does the 1968 *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.² Rather the adjectival form "ethnic" and words prefixed with "ethno-" are found.

There is an immense descriptive literature on ethnic groups. But "ethnicity" is treated as some relatively undefinable and more often ambiguous category or variable that is encapsulated in time-related socially relevant topics like prejudice, religiosity, social stratification, psychological processes like identification or "closed minds". The Adorno, *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) study,³ Rokeach's *The Open and Closed Mind* (1960),⁴ Coleman's *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (1966),⁵ and Schermerhorn's *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research* (1970)⁶ all illustrate the ancillarity of "ethnicity" as an object of systematic inquiry. Though the following hypothesis cannot be tested, empirically, this writer suspects that the underlying epistemology of the voyeuristic "objectifying" scholarship style in American anthropology and sociology in the last two generations precluded the denotative delineation of ethnicity. To find the most spare definition for ethnicity would have required intersubjective and intra-psychosocial data, such as was suggested by Alfred Schutz.⁷ By their own testimony, American anthropologists and sociologists studied

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foreign culture and society in order to obtain objective substantive and structural insights into their own world. It became scientific to describe "ethnic communities," "ethnic groups and social stratification," "ethnic prejudice and stereotypes," "ethnic politics," and "ethnocentrism". Certainly "assimilation," "accommodation rates" and "the marginal man" were studies within the comfort of one's own ego-involved ethnocentricity. Sympathy rather than "risk-taking" and "risk-bearing" empathy was the stereotypical approach. Though men were made in the image and like of God, to turn a biblical phrase, scientific men must learn, if they haven't already done so, that each person must live within his own mortal nature and learn through that nature as it is individually construed. And this fact is to the contrary of Weber's admonition toward ethical neutrality.⁸ What is hoped for is a wider epistemology in the social and behavioral sciences that would admit inter-subjective and intro-psychosocial data. I am delighted to see a current trend in that direction.⁹

There are several connotations to the classical Greek noun, *εθνος*. These are: (1) a company or a body of men; (2) a race or tribe, genetically construed; (3) a nation, a people; (4) a particular class of men, a caste. As such ethnicity can be understood as a social concept that differentiate men into groups. But the differentiae require delineation, for those familiar with the literature on ethnic society and behavior recognize the core ideas found in the classical Greek noun *εθνος*.

In a classic essay, "Ethnic Communities," that should be noted for its clarity, insight, and brevity, Caroline F. Ware defined ethnic communities through their characteristics as "groups bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture, living together within an alien civilization but remaining culturally distinct."¹⁰ The classical Greek notions of *εθνος* are found within this description-type definition of ethnic communities. To extrapolate a spare definition for ethnicity therefrom, ethnicity appears to be a category using the differentiae of race and language in the same way that the common man differentiates himself from others, regardless of the geographical juxtaposition of groups at a given historical time and place. Empirical experiences of men suggest that in the practical order of affairs race *per se* is not a barrier to communication. But language is such a barrier regardless of race. Sans the matériel of culture, language is the

primary phenomenon which separates men into describable cultures. And it is of empirical significance to add that given a common language, human preferences are made upon the basis of belief congruence rather than upon ethnic or racial congruence.¹¹

From the first federal census in 1790 to the present, the demographic/geographical survey has been the one social science research method that has been linked consistently to public policy in the United States. The extensive census studies on immigration and immigrants in 1911,¹² the school survey movement most recently typified by excellence in Havighurst's *The Public Schools of Chicago* (1964),¹³ the Chicago school of urban sociology,¹⁴ the Coleman report,¹⁵ and national educational assessment¹⁶ are all in this tradition. Currently done by a variety of social and behavioral scientists, studies on poverty, the culturally different, and urban life impact upon education have been informing in a descriptive sense. But how are such studies useful to educators in their professional roles as teachers of students before them, regardless of socio-economic background, race, and or ethnic character? Beyond some appreciation, such information is not in itself applicable to teaching. No scientific principle is found in discrete descriptions of people and cultures because by its nature "description" is not actionable for instructional purposes.¹⁷

This is not an indictment of the literature on ethnic groups and behavior. It is an indictment against the professional expectation that anthropological and sociological descriptions of ethnic groups contain pedagogical principle. Such a recently published anthology on ethnic groups as Webster's *Knowing and Understanding Socially Disadvantaged Ethnic Minority Groups* (1972)¹⁸ merely is informational.

Now, where does this leave us? Is there any science about ethnicity at all, except as some undefined or ambiguous factor that exists in linguistically different groups? I believe there is one piece of anthropological science that can be used in the education of culturally-different children and adults in our plurally-ethnic society. That anthropological principle is biculturation.

Biculturation is known to be operative when persons are enculturated and socialized in two different ways of living at the same time. The acquisition of bilingualism and a bicultural ethos are objective evidences of this process in action. Polger docu-

ments biculturation for Mesquakie Indian boys on the reservation.¹⁹ But what is the phenomenology of this biculturation process?

Ethnicity : Being

To be reared in Chicago as I had is to be reared ethnically. The polyglot neighborhood structure was my environment. It was to live in racial diversity and linguistic heterogeneity, albeit in quasi-contained areas. The loci of my ethnic life were the family, the "American" school, the Greek Orthodox parish church, its language school and community, and an ancillary network of Greek-speaking institutions, including a viable press and radio programming.

My father was a hardworking restaurant man all of his life. He both owned and managed eateries of all sizes and shapes. He came to the United States at 14 years of age in 1904. He was a warm and generous man whose English was better than his Greek even though he had a first year gymnasium education in Greece.

My mother, a very nurturant woman, came to the United States at the age of 10. My maternal grandparent's home was a very Greek home with the wholesome peasant ethos of hard work, the merit of the extended family, and a folk piety and belief in Orthodox Christianity that fitted them well for their long lives in this country. My mother recalls the linguistic difficulty she had in the local public school from which she soon dropped out. She also recalled no difficulty in doing the arithmetic for that class, a common language of western schools. But her English today is much better than her Greek.

In retrospect, my sister and I were reared in a loving home, one that is aptly described to be a "hothouse". Our home was also a bilingual home; though as we grew up, it became more monolingual, that is, more English-speaking. It was not uncommon for my parents, or grandparents, or some aunt or uncle to speak to me in Greek and I to respond in English. You can certainly imagine the oddity of that behavior in the 1930's when going shopping in Chicago Loop department stores. My homespun kitchen Greek was quite enriched by the humor, old wife's tales, the quick repartee and saying and proverbs that make language a cultural experience with empathic dimensions.

I attended the local public schools, generically called "the American school". My elementary school experience was in one school that originally was dominated by Jewish children ; and that by graduation time eight years later had changed to an all-black school. While in the elementary school, I was invited to join a local boy's scout troop in the Jewish synagogue across from the school. I enjoyed that a lot, even though I did not understand the private and religious environment of Jewish children and their temple of worship.

My high school had a small Italian and Greek group of students ; but for the most part, it was dominated by Swedes and old stock-Americans of the upper middle class. Ethnic divisions were natural in both of these schools. Ethnic and religious holidays were observed through student absences. Ethnic and religious holidays were in-group experiences too private to share but open to anyone who wished to venture in to see.

The Greek Orthodox parish in which I was reared had, since 1910, operated a bilingual day elementary school, whose graduates went straight into the Chicago public high schools. For those parents whose children attended the "American" school, an afternoon Greek language school was available. I attended this school on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 4 : 00 P. M. to 6 : 00 Pm. m for six years. I graduated from this school. From native Greek-trained teachers, I learned both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* types of Greek. The textbooks were imported school books from Greece. The curricular content was literary, historical, religious, and grammatical in character. From that experience in Greek language study and with a couple of courses in classical Greek at the University of Chicago, I am now able to converse in modern demotic Greek, read a newspaper, write a letter with the aid of a grammar and dictionary, and read technical materials and *Koine* Greek with a dictionary. At the doctoral level, I passed a reading/translation test in modern Greek at the University of Chicago.

I grew up in the shadow of the Greek Orthodox Church and its schools : the Greek language school, the Sunday school, the several youth groups of the church and several public service Greek-speaking national groups. It is in this church environment that I still live, albeit in another city and state today.

Historically, Greek society has always merited most highly

the educated man. Indeed, the thirtieth of January is a Greek Orthodox feastday that honors the patron saints of scholars and students, these saints being St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory Nanzianzen and St. Basil the Great. Most certainly in my home, education was highly prized.

My education was always advantaged by my knowledge of Greek, be it in the sciences, mathematics, the humanities or the social sciences. Conceptual elaboration was possible through such linguistic capacity, for the higher the education, the more abstract and sophisticated the conceptual elaboration in the disciplines. But my linguistic knowledge of English was enhanced also through my high school study of Spanish for three years and my university study of French and German for reading competence.

Living in two worlds, the one American the other that of the immigrant Greek, was not an emotional strain. It was a natural thing to do. Everyone else I knew was doing the same. However, I did want to know, culturally, who I was when I became college age. I eventually earned a master's degree in American history and philosophy. I spent a good amount of time in church history and in the history of the new immigration. A culminating type of experience in this area was a detailed local parish history, from its founding to 1927. Through that bit of research, I came to understand in a more personal and empathic way the Odyssean theme in Greek history through the lives of my own family and those of the community in which I lived. Equally, I came to understand the quality of the early life of my parish as "a Greek *polis* in exile," self-contained by American corporate law in the congregational government of the community church, a Greek language school, and a Greek-speaking praying community with satellite social groups.²⁰

In 1957, I traveled to France, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. I found American travellers everywhere; and I found Greek colonies everywhere, usually located around the church or some commercial enterprise. My experience in Greece demonstrated to me how culturally American I was in relation to the native Greek. And I am sure that recent post-World War II immigrants from Greece find a peculiar Greek community in the United States. The peasant traditions in piety, foods, dancing, and

linguistic habits are the American remnants of the original immigrant Greek culture, established between 1890 and 1930 in the United States. Greco-English barbarisms are rampant in the *patois* speech of American Greeks. In fact these barbarisms very often become objects of puns and "high humor" where English homophones have humorous Greek peasant meanings. These become a source of much in-group humor.

Phenomenologically, my work world and my social world are a seamless fabric of continuing experience. This bicultural experience provides to me an active comparative and contrastive set of insights into American and immigrant Greek culture as a continuing lived experience. Though I have not experienced monolinguisity, I feel that the opportunity to experience cultural conflict and the cultural integrity earned through the resolution of that conflict are vital affective education. American values interpenetrate Greek values in my *psyche* and *nous*. I know not where one begins and the other ends. Commitment to God, country, family, and profession is biculturally biased as is my scholarship. And though my wife and I are both biculturally advantaged, our children through our family life-style will probably be American with a Greek spirit, but with less linguistic facility than I was privileged to possess. For me, the "Greek *polis* in exile" is gone. It is my view that an American Orthodox Church is in the making, wherein the old world linguistic basis of the Orthodox Church in America is evolving toward English monolinguisity and an American ecclesial morphology. Indeed I am a published advocate to that movement.²¹

Taking Schutz's phenomenology to heart, I believe that the biculturative process through which I evolved provides valuable educational insight. I believe that insight is the following. When both American and Greek culture were taught honestly and persuasively by their advocates (accompanied by the reinforcements of home and society), the early acquisition of languages and values was positive and stable in result. The personal experience was not without its trials and frustrations; but so is all rearing experience. I am persuaded that biculturation is a viable policy and practice for the education of our contemporary ethnically-different people. Indeed America's value to respect the dignity and integrity of its people is manifested through this policy and

practice. Educational opportunity is found in the nature of biculturalization.

Ethnicity : Educational Opportunity

A review of the science related to the acquisition of speech and language—the basic category of ethnicity—reveals that there is little in scientific principle for teachers to use beyond the effect of *praxis*. Osser's evaluation of the several positions on language development does not indicate the flux of uncertainty but the fog of ignorance.²² Osser enumerates four problem areas for which scientific explanations beyond speculation have yet to be developed. And from my vantage point, language acquisition appears to be a mystery that science has yet to solve. The problem areas outlined by Osser were: (1) the development of prelinguistic vocalization; (2) the acquisition of basic language structures; (3) the acquisition of elaborated language sequences; (4) the acquisition of the appropriate modes of communication, *viz.*, the ability to use different styles of speech such as narrative or explanatory styles when appropriate to the social situation.²³ A systems analysis of these language research questions suggests that current research on language acquisition is stymied because language and speech data are empirical "traces" of the language acquisition process but not the process itself. Chart No. 1 presents Osser's four problems in language acquisition research in a two dimensional typology. The one dimension is based upon Laszlo's systems theory of mind.²⁴ The second dimension is based upon Parsons *et al.* classification of action systems.²⁵ Perhaps this comprehensive hierarchical understanding of these problems in language acquisition research might suggest a scientific thrust or orientation to the solution of these problems across the hierarchical boundaries delineated by the Laszlo and Parsons categories. It appears that an interdisciplinary approach is required that is beyond the psycholinguist, the learning theorist, the anatomist, and other social scientists, individually. In the absence of scientific principles, certain pragmatic ways need to be adopted, these arising from experience.

Formal and informal education occur through language. For the education of the culturally-different person to succeed in the United States, a commitment in principle and resources is necessary. The 1972 AACTE statement of multicultural education

explicates my position excellently.²⁶ Under that statement, biculturation as an educating principle in American public schools is possible. Pragmatically, biculturation can occur through the application of the following principles :²⁷

(1) teach in two languages, beginning with the mother tongue of the student ;

(2) teach the second language in the "natural" sequence of human language acquisition, viz., hearing, understanding and speaking and then proceeding to reading and writing ;

(3) teach all school subjects in either language by the end of the eighth grade.

Not to use the mother tongue of the student for instructional purposes is a lost educational opportunity for both the student and the school. What a waste of linguistic skills which the child has amassed during his first 5 or 6 years of living !²⁸ Leaverton's dialectic readers and his work in helping black children to distinguish between "school talk" and "everyday talk" is certainly along the lines suggested here.²⁹

My hope is for American education to take seriously biculturation as a pragmatic principle of education. Certainly the bankruptcy of traditional approaches called bilingual teaching³⁰ and the deficit/difference models for educating the so-called socially or culturally disadvantaged children is quite evident everywhere.³¹ A return to Comenius' work, *The Great Didactic* (1638) is instructive, for he writes pointedly to us by saying :

Base all teaching on the pupils capacities as they are developed in the course of time and progress in school.³²

In the absence of scientific principles on language acquisition, the pragmatics of biculturation can become operative if one begins with the ethnicity of the student through the language he uses everyday. Ethnicity is the portal to educational opportunity for all, educational opportunity for both the culturally different American and his monolingual English-speaking American cousin. Ethnicity as an educational opportunity affirms America's democratic commitment to the dignity and integrity of the individual, an American value worthily to be taught by the example of the school's curriculum.

When the Most High came down and confused the tongues in Babel, He divided the nations; but when the Holy Spirit distributed the tongues of fire, He called all men to unity. Therefore with one accord, we glorify Thee.

—Kontakion of the Sunday of Pentecost
The Pentecostarion

FOOTNOTES

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The Americanization of the New Immigrant

INTRODUCTION

Post-Civil War America was the culmination of a long struggle between the newly emerging urban-industrial North and the rural-agrarian South. With the triumph of this urban industrialism most Americans were ill-prepared to deal with the inherent changes in the society that came with industrialization. These changes created a need for workers to man the expanding heavy industries, workers that were not readily available from the "native" American stock. Previous industrial expansion during the early part of the 19th century had drawn heavily from the northern and western countries of Europe, particularly, the trained technicians needed to design and operate the rapidly emerging textile industry.

In the 1830's and 1840's when a less skilled class of workers was needed the Irish famines provided a ready labor supply and also an assimilation problem because of their Catholicism. This foreshadowed the problems that would appear in the post-Civil War period when a massive immigration from southern and eastern Europe would clog America's cities. By 1896 the "new" immigration had exceeded the old in total numbers¹ and during the period between 1899-1915 numbered over nine million.² This "new" immigration with its extreme visibility would be blamed for the traumatic wrenching of American society away from its traditional views of individualism and agrarian values and into the industrially oriented 20th century.

It is our contention that the Americanization process employed to reshape these "new" immigrants bares a marked resemblance to Lifton's world-view resocialization concept that he used in describing the thought reform movement in the Peoples Republic of China.³ The primary difference between the two

processes is that Americanization was not a consciously designed program.

Lifton's paradigm for world-view resocialization can be divided into three major stages. The first is called the Stripping Process where the individual is separated from his previous self. The second stage is Identification where the individual stripped of his old self has a new one created for him. The final stage requires the internalization of the new self to make it permanent and is called Death and Rebirth of Self. Although these stages and their sub-stages are not employed with exactly the same methodology or conscious development, the pattern of this process seems to be repeated in the Americanization of the "new" immigrants.

The remainder of this paper will attempt to discuss the concept of Americanization and how it might be viewed as an unplanned resocialization of the "new" immigrants not to a 19th century American world-view but to a 20th century urban-industrial world-view.

THE MELTING POT AND AMERICANIZATION

Historically, the concept of Americanization was a relatively new idea of acculturating the new immigrants. Previous waves of immigrants prior to the migration of the Irish in the 1840's had supposedly been assimilated into American society by what was called the "Melting Pot" Theory. Supposedly, under this concept the immigrant would naturally give up his ties to his native country and America in turn would welcome "... the contributions that the new racial strains make to American life and look with favor upon the addition of new cultural elements."⁴ The final outcome of this cultural exchange would provide America with a new race of people superior to the separate elements that composed it.

This concept held sway only so long as the immigrant remained white-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant although numerous writers and statesmen sought to preserve the idea. Particularly illustrative of the preservation of this concept is the play written by Israel Zangwill who during his day was considered one of the great playwrights of the English language. Zangwill, who had visited America briefly, had little notion of the extreme privation that immigrants residing in the cities were forced to endure. In

one of his more prosaic speeches from *The Melting Pot*, Zangwill has one of his characters expound this theory :

America is God's Crucible, the Great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming!— Here you stand good folk, think I, when I see you at Ellis Island, here you stand, in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds and rivalries. But you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God you come to— these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and your vendettas ! German and Frenchmen, Irishmen and English, Jews and Russians, into the Crucible with you all ! God is making the American The real American has not yet arrived. He is only in the Crucible. I tell you— he will be the fusion of all races, perhaps the coming superman⁵

Contrasting Zangwill's concept with that of Elwood Cubberly, the noted early 20th century educator, and one has a relatively clear contemporary view of the differences between the "Melting Pot" Theory and that of Americanization :

These southern and eastern Europeans are of a very different type from the north Europeans who preceded them. Illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative and not possessing the Anglo-Teutonic conceptions of law, order and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civic life. The great bulk of these people have settled in the cities of the North Atlantic and North Central states, and the problems of housing and living, moral and sanitary conditions, honest and decent government, and proper education have everywhere been made more difficult by their presence. Everywhere these people tend to settle in groups or settlements and to set up here their national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up their groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order and popular government, and to awaken in them reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth.⁶

As can be clearly seen in Cubberly's statement, there was no longer the patience or tolerance that the original "Melting Pot" Theory had expressed. The visibility of the new immigrant had made him the scapegoat for all the ills of the urban-industrial society, and it was the responsibility of education to shape these people to the Anglo-Saxon mold, "so far as can be done." What Cubberly and others who were close to the scene failed to realize was that the old Anglo-Saxon mold was no longer a viable concept. It had been shaped by an agrarian society with a frontier to escape into if the existing society no longer suited their taste. In the new America there was no longer room for the rugged individualist, the type of man that Burgess described as possessing, "... a high sense of individual worth and of individual rights."⁷ More properly, the Americanization process would follow a pattern of breaking down individualism and standardizing men to fit into an urban society and the immigrant would prove to be the logical subject for creating this new American. Herbert Croly, probably more accurately than any of his contemporaries saw this new process unfolding in the American businessman of the early 1900's :

Different as American businessmen are from one another in temperament, circumstances, and habits, they have a way of becoming fundamentally very much alike. Their individualities are forced into a common mold, because the ultimate measure of their work is the same, and it is nothing but its results in cash.⁸

What Croly saw occurring in 1909 in the American businessman would be repeated as the end product of the Americanization process of the new immigrants and eventually extended to the whole society.

LOSS OF IDENTITY : THE STRIPPING PROCESS

The first phase of any resocializing process is the stripping away of those factors which created the individual's world-view. For most immigrants this phase began in their home countries where changing social, economic, and political conditions disrupted the stability of their lives. For some it was the increased population pressure in Europe, a jump from 140 million in 1750 to nearly 400 million by the time of World War I.⁹ For

others, it was a decline in demand for their products as manufactured goods became more available or an increased demand for agricultural products in the cities made the small individual plot of land obsolete, resulting in mechanization and concentration of land ownership. In each instance the traditional means of establishing identity, status, or self-worth were drastically altered and the inhabitants were as much pushed into migration as they were pulled by the lure of employment. A typical example is that of Janos Kovacs, a Hungarian farmer :

In Hungary I had a wife, two children, house, six acres of land, two horses, a cow, two pigs, and a few poultry. That was my fortune. This same land that afforded an existence to my father and grandfather could not suport us any longer. Taxes and the cost of living in the last few years have advanced so greatly that the expenses cannot be covered from as much as small farm can yield.

[Things became worse, an yearly spring storm killed his crop, he had to buy his bread for money.] My horses were killed from disease. I had to sell my cow to buy winter clothes for the family. There was no money to work the land and without horses and work the land will not produce. I had to mortgage my house ...

As a farm laborer in Hungary can earn only enough for bread and water, how is he to pay the taxes, living expenses, and clothing? There was but one hope, America ... ¹⁰.

The assault upon the immigrant's identity continued when they boarded the ships for it was here that they would experience the crowded, unsanitary conditions of steerage that would soon be their everyday condition of life in urban America. For many of them it would be their first encounter with people who spoke a language other than their own, let alone people from other villages. Probably most indicative of the conditions encountered is a report taken from a woman traveler by the United States Immigration Commission in 1911.

During these twelve days in steerage I lived in a disorder and in surroundings that offended every sense. Only the fresh breeze from the sea overcame the sickening odors. The vile language of the men, the screams of the women defending themselves, the crying of children, wretched because of their

surroundings, and practically every sound that reached the ear irritated beyond endurance. There was no sight before which the eye did not prefer to close. Everything was dirty, sticky, and disagreeable to the touch. Every impression was offensive. Worse than this was the general air of immorality. For fifteen hours each day I witnessed all around me this improper, indecent, and forced mingling of men and women who were total strangers and often did not understand one word of the same language.¹¹

It should of course be noted that the previous account was made by an American. Just what impressions her fellow travelers had is open to speculation.

When he disembarked in America the second stage of the stripping process began, the establishment of guilt. The long lines of immigrants begin queuing up to pass through the immigration building. "[They] were shunted here and there, handled and mishandled, kicked about and torn apart, in a way that no farmer would allow his cattle to be treated."¹² Then the interrogation in Kafkaese style ;

Where did you get this money you have just shown us ?

In Liverpool.

Who gave it to you ?

The man in the office.

What office ?

I don't know the name, where I took the boat.

What did you give him for it ?

Two English pounds.

Where did you get those ?

In Cork.

From whom ?

In the bank.

How did you get them in the bank ?

I gave them some sovereigns.

Where did you get these from ?

I earned them¹³

For those that survived this process there was always the fear that they might be deported. The United States Immigration Act of 1907 excluded all aliens "who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor

involving moral turpitude.”¹⁴ Although the number deported or debarred from entering was small (in 1914 it was less than one per thousand) the possibility always existed that some indiscretion in one’s past or some “un-American” act would return the immigrant to his native country.¹⁵ Edward Corsi, an immigrant and also Commissioner of Immigration, describes the process of deportation that would plant the seeds of guilt and force the immigrant to question every act:

Our deportation laws are inexorable and in many cases inhuman, particularly as they apply to men and women of honest behaviour whose only crime is that they dared enter the promised land without conforming to law. I have seen hundreds of such persons forced back to the countries they come from, penniless and at times without coats on their backs. I have seen families separated never to be reunited—mothers, torn from their children, husbands from their wives, and no one in the United States, not even the President himself, able to prevent it

Here is the law (anti-Red immigration law of 1918). If an alien anarchist arrives at the gate, he is to be excluded. If a member of an alien organization who proceeds to foment organized crime under the guise of political propaganda is discovered among us, he ought to be expelled. However, nothing in the whole content of the law from which we have quoted indicates that the accused is to be denied the protection of our laws while he is a resident among us. No department at Washington, not even the Department of Justice is permitted to hang a man without a trial ... It is apparently possible for an agent of a department to enter a man’s home and arrest him, take him to jail, to Ellis Island, thence to be sent to the country of his birth, because of his political opinions. This man may leave behind him a wife and a group of American-born children who are citizens. Forever separated from him they may become public charges ... ¹⁶

The problem of finding a place to stay and employment often forced the immigrant into the third stage of identity loss, that of self-betrayal. When jobs and housing were plentiful the necessity to change one’s appearance or behavior was often not too pressing although the type of job and place of residence might not necess-

arily correspond to what the immigrant was looking for. When, however, jobs and housing were scarce, the immigrant was forced into denying his nativity or religion and altering his appearance. The following two examples serve to illustrate this point :

(He had long wondered why he was always refused work)—At last a butcher in the upper eighties gave me the answer with pungent frankness ... He looked me over from head to foot, and then, with a contemptuous glance at my shabby foreign shoes (the alien's shoes are his Judas), he asked me whether I supposed he wanted a greenhorn in his store. I pondered the query for a long time

I found that father was already at home. As I came into the room I saw him resting against the wall, clipping his beard. I was so surprised and shocked to see him actually do this thing that I could neither speak nor move for some minutes. And I knew that he, too, felt embarrassed. After the first glance I kept my eyes steadily on the floor in front of me, and began to talk to him quietly, but with great earnestness: 'You had been so pious at home, father,' I said, 'more pious than anyone else in our whole neighborhood. And now you are cutting your beard. Grandmother would never have believed it. How *she* would weep!' The snipping of the scissors still went on. But I knew by the sound that now he was only making a pretense at cutting. At last he laid it down and said in a tone that was bitter yet quiet: 'They do not like Jews on Cherry Street. And one with a long beard has to take his life into his own hands.'¹⁷

For some, the breaking point, or final stage, was never reached particularly if they were quickly absorbed into American society. This was particularly true of many Western Europeans. The fourth stage was also not particularly a problem for many eastern Europeans who did not view America as their permanent residence but merely a place to earn enough money to return to Europe in style. For example, in 1919 a survey of immigrant southern Italians showed that of those qualified for citizenship less than a sixth had become citizens.¹⁸ For those that did submit to the Americanization process, it was point of decision of whether to stay and face further degradation or to return home. Between 1857 and 1924 it is projected that over 30% of the immi-

grants returned to their native country with 86-89% of the Balkan peoples returning between 1908-1923.¹⁹ Typical of the breaking point experience is that of a Jewish immigrant who wrote in desperation to *Forward* magazine:

... Now it is already fifteen weeks that I am not working. In our city there is a big crisis. Sometimes I strike a job and I make \$4 or \$5 a week. From these earnings I cannot take \$2 a week to pay for the furniture. So I went to them and I asked them to wait. But when I went away today to look for a job and when I returned I found something that shocked me so that I nearly lost my mind. The house was vacant; they had taken everything away from my house; my wife was lying on the floor, her hair disheveled; two men were holding her and two men were taking everything out. Now it is winter and we are without a stove and without everything.

Again I went to the Jewish Protection Association and they say that the furniture dealer is lawfully right.

To find work in Chicago now is impossible. I haven't even a penny. Naked and shoeless, of what good is my life in this world? So I decided to end my life, but before I do that I want to avenge myself on the two murders. But I am asking you, publish this letter, let the people know the life of the poor, what the rich do with their hard-earned money.²⁰

For those that survived the breaking point situations similar to the one above they would be entering second phase of their resocialization, that of developing a new identity.

CREATING A NEW IDENTITY

The second phase of the resocialization of the immigrants occurred when they started building a new identity from their adopted environment. The rapidity with which this was accomplished was dependent not only on the economic condition of the times and how much of their old selves had been stripped away, but also on the opportunity the society afforded the immigrant for full participation. For some groups the existing society would remain closed and they would be forced to either create new opportunities for themselves or resort to illegal activities in order to survive. For those that the society treated fairly in times of misfortune it would be the

beginning of a new self. Such is the case of Constantine Panunzio :

..... I went to Mr. Annis and asked him to pay me It was then that the truth came out. He laughed me out of court and with sneer upon his lips which I remember to this very day, he handed me a five dollar bill and said that was all he could pay me (he owed me eighty-five dollars) in wages It was as if the very earth had crumbled away under my feet ; I was bitterly angry ; I hated the man and I hated America with all the strength of my young soul

..... Here in the face of cruel injustice and seeking means of securing justice, I had been hurled into prison. What would they do with me now ? Would they burn me ? Hang me ? Shoot me How could I, with my scanty knowledge of English, explain my innocence Now and then the sharp realization of what had happened came over me, and I would cry out in sheer bewilderment. I called for 'mother' as only a child can cry when utterly lost and in despair.....

The moment I stepped into the courtroom and looked into the kindly face of the judge a feeling of hope came over me. I felt certain I was looking into the face of a friend who would comprehend Instinctively I knew that I was standing before a man who would deal with me justly and kindly.²¹

Once a certain amount of acceptance was perceived an increased opportunity was available for a number of immigrants who wished to unburden themselves of the guilts that they had carried with them. This compulsion to confess produced a vast number of autobiographical books, articles and letters to the editors of various magazines and newspapers. Part of the reason for this outflowing of writings was the security that many of these authors were gaining from their newly forming identities but of equal import was the cathartic effect such writings would have in relieving the writer of the vestiges of his past identity. An example of this is a letter written to the editor of *Russkoye Slovo* :

I have been already ten years in this blessed country, where there are no passports.

I am doing honest labor as a machinist's assistant. In Russia I was a plain criminal. Yes, a criminal. I am openly saying so, for that was in my far-away past. And it seems

to me that I am speaking not of myself, but of another unfortunate man, whom circumstances made a thief and a forger... I know well what the criminal person means America accepted me as I was. America gave me a chance to stand on my own feet. I was taken in with my shameful past, as if I were equal to the best. And I have repaid America with respect that only death can take away from my heart.

Excuse me for not signing my name. My Russian name I have, indeed, thrown out together with my Russian past, and as to my American name it is a clean one, and is not guilty for the past of the one who carries it.²²

Many immigrants suffered the pangs of personal guilt because of their nationalities and began rechanneling these guilt feelings from themselves to their nationality as a whole. Many of them suggested acquiring traits of national groups that appeared to be more successful in making their way in America. A typical example of this type of rationalization is the following :

If the Italians would do as the Jews do we would be better off. The Italian institutions here are very poor, and most of the big organizations do nothing to help them I should like to open the eyes of the public to the fact that very little is done here for Italians by Italian organizations. Such organizations as the Sons of Italy do not use their money as they should. They may spend it in Italy for private needs and things. They should spend it here for American institutions for Italians. We should all unite as the Jewish people do.²³

The fourth stage of building the immigrants' new identity was that of re-education which have begun as soon as he arrived or may have been delayed until he had gained confidence and security in his new surroundings. Much of what he experienced in his first encounters with Americans or established immigrants contributed greatly to his re-education but it was in the schools that he got his formal introduction into what it was to be an American.

For some of the immigrants their places of employment offered educational opportunities not only in vocational skills, but also language instruction, history, reading, spelling, geography and discussions of current events.²⁴ Most immigrants who sought

formal education, however, received it in adult education classes or night schools, where he supposedly could gain a knowledge of English and citizenship instruction. An evaluation of night school instruction in Cleveland in 1917 by Ayses found most of what was being taught was seriously lacking. In a series of recommendations the committee concluded :

... that the evening school work of Cleveland be reorganized. Some of the results of the work as at present conducted are revealed by the attendance records. The records of attendance show that only a small proportion of those who enroll remain more than a few weeks.

The tragic part of the situation is that every year thousands of earnest and hopeful foreigners flock to the night schools in keen anticipation of learning English, and after a few weeks become discouraged and drop out because the teachers do not meet their needs. Since they cannot understand what is going on, their interest flags. As the weeks pass by, physical weariness overcomes them more and more each night. Finally they sink into despondency and discouragement as they see their cherished dream of mastering the new language depart. This is no matter of casual import for these men and women. They are not children and most of them are not students. Concentrating their minds on the lesson implies painful effort. If this intense application does not bring them within a few weeks some results that the immigrant can appreciate, he begins to realize that his dream of becoming an American, are not to be attained through the public school.

There are 70,000 people in Cleveland who cannot speak English, and there are few social, civic or educational problems more important than to make it possible for this tenth of the city's population to understand and communicate with the other nine-tenths. The number of unnaturalized adult foreign men is nearly as large as that of the non-English speaking inhabitants. Moreover, these conditions are becoming worse rapidly and steadily. Again Cleveland makes a poorer showing in these respects than any other large city.²⁵

Some immigrants, however, found the night school more enlightening. A young Italian, who initially had been disturbed

by the ugliness of New York City, describes his impressions of the night school he attended.

When I went to night school, I had a good impression to me. The teacher treat everyone just the same. The Jew just the same the Chinaman, and the Chinaman just the same the Italian. This was a wonderful impression. When I saw the principal of the school, he look to me like Italian nobleman, the way he hold his eyeglasses. I went to this school just because I like the principal. He give it to me welcome like I was an American. I learn little English, and about the American government, and how the people can make change and progress by legislation without force of revolution, and I like much this idea. The teacher told me why not become an American.²⁶

Much of the immigrants' re-education came through the education of his children. The passage of compulsory education laws in most states saw most of the large city schools in 1911 with more than 50% of their enrollments made up of children of foreign born parents.²⁷ In most cities the only special provisions made for immigrant children were the so-called "steamer" classes, in which the child was supposed to learn English rapidly in order that he could be placed in the grade which corresponded to his age group.

The failure of many of these youngsters to learn a sufficient amount of English to progress to their "proper" grade level led Ayres to conclude in 1909 that the schools were inefficient because they are filled with "retarded" children (children not at their proper grade level). His figures indicated that "... for every child who is making more than normally rapid progress there are from eight to ten children making abnormally slow progress."²⁸

Whether or not these children were "retarded" most of them interpreted the world to their foreign speaking parents. As Abbott points out, "These foreign-born parents speak to the boss, the landlord, the policeman—all the great in their world through their children."²⁹ These would be the people that would explain the dress, speech, and manners of America as seen through their teacher and American peers to their parents. Unfortunately, the child often became so Americanized that his parents became frustrated by their child's attempts to speed their Americanization.

A Jewish mother writing to the editors of *Forward* described just such a problem :

... Soon I realized that my big pretty daughter is not the girl I knew : she has changed entirely. During the few years that she was here without us she became a regular Yankee and forgot how to talk Yiddish. I talk to her in Yiddish and she replies in English. With much difficulty I induce her to speak a word in Yiddish and I succeed only when there are no strangers in the house. When strange people come to us, my daughter will not say a single Yiddish word.

So I ask her : 'Daughter of mine, talk Yiddish to me and I will understand you.' She says that it is not nice to talk Yiddish and that I am a greenhorn. And that is not all. She does worse things. She wants to make a Christian woman out of me. She does not like to have me light the Sabbath candles, to observe the Sabbath. When I light the candles she blows them out. She does all the things that I do not want, that cause me the greatest heartache. And she argues with me. She says that because I and my husband are pious and have a Jewish home, she can never invite a boy acquaintance to her house ; she is ashamed. She makes fun of me and her father. She calls us greenhorns and is ashamed of us. Once I saw her standing on the stoop with a boy so I went up to her and asked her when she would come up and eat something. She did not even reply, and later she screamed at me because I had called her by her Jewish name. But I cannot call her differently. I cannot call her by her new name.³⁰

How many immigrants attained a harmony with their new identity is difficult to speculate. It is questionable that many were able to eliminate all vestiges of their former selves and consider themselves totally American but some had at least acquired the visible signs of the American middle class even if they could not totally remake their physical selves. The following is a description of a Japanese immigrant who appears to be just such an individual :

Mr. came to this country eleven years ago. Nine years ago he purchased a farm and was joined by his wife and two small daughters. He now owns a walnut and fig ranch

of thirty-six acres, which was bearing when he purchased it, and leases a vineyard besides. He occupies a cottage of five rooms; the house is in good repair, and it and the premises are well kept. The floors are well carpeted and as part of the furnishings of the living room are four leather-seated oak chairs and a few well-framed lithographed pictures—all American. In the back parlor is a piano, and among the conveniences in the kitchen is found a standard washing machine. The two daughters had just begun to take music lessons from an American teacher. One of the girls was in the eighth grade, the other in the sixth. Both are thoroughly American in every respect save that they are more gracious and more polite than the average native child. Their Americanism had extended even to insisting upon having American dolls with blond hair and blue eyes.³¹

THE DEATH OF THE IMMIGRANT AND BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN

Unlike other resocializing processes, it is questionable whether the immigrant ever totally developed an urban American world view and submerged his old self. Rather the death of the old self occurred when the physical death of the immigrant took place, but the rebirth of the new self, the children of the immigrants, was as totally a personalized rebirth as any resocialized person can feel. In many respects the immigrant's reborn self was a monster; it neither spoke nor understood the language of his father and mother; it rejected their ways of doing most everything and when it got old enough, it left and did not care for its parents. It should be recalled in the beginning of this paper Croly categorized the American businessman as being "... forced into a common mold, because the ultimate measure of their work, is the same and it is nothing but its results in cash."³² Listen to the lament of a Jewish father as he describes his second generation American children:

The poor Jew whom I now scrutinized more closely wore an old shabby coat, an old cap, his hands were black from dust and cold. And his face— what a face! Pale, boney, wrinkled. In each wrinkle there was compassion. And this Jew who sells cookies on the street has three sons and a daughter—all fairly prosperous!

"How is it possible?" slipped off my tongue.

"You mean, of course, why I am not living with them?...

I did not want to live with them. You understand, I cannot live among machines. I am a live man and have a soul despite my age. They are machines. They work all day and come home at night. What do they do? Nothing. Wait for supper. During supper they talk about everything in the world— friends, clothes, money, wages, and all sorts of gossip. After supper they dress up and go out. Where to? Either the theater, banquet, or movie. Or else their friends call and they drink, eat, and play cards; or they start the machine and it plays and they dance. The next day again to work and so on for the rest of their life They have all been to school— educated people; but just try, for the fun of it, and ask them if they ever read a book. Not on your life. Books have nothing in common with them; Judaism has nothing in common with them; Jewish troubles have nothing in common with them; the whole world has nothing in common with them. They only know one thing— work, eat, away to the theater. How can they do this? I am asking you; how can one lead a life like that?" And in his voice there was a deep anger

His voice grew louder and became angry. "And I— I cannot live like that. I am no machine. I like to think, I like to be in a good mood, I want to talk to people. I want to get an answer to my questions. When I live among shoemakers I know that the shoemaker is a blind man; but when I live among educated people, then I expect them to be *Menschen*.

"When I first came here I used to speak and argue with them. But they did not understand me. They would ask: 'Why this and that? This country is not Russia. Here everybody does as he likes.'

"Gradually I realized that they were machines. They make money and live for that purpose. When I grasped this situation a terror possessed me and I did not believe these were my children. I could not stand to be there; I was being choked; I could not tolerate their behavior and I went away" ³³

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to show, somewhat artificially, the similarity between Robert Lifton's world-view resocialization process and Americanization of the "new" immigrant. It would be deceptive to say that every immigrant went through these stages in exactly the same order, experiencing each of the various sub-stages, but for many of these immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who were markedly different from the "native" American, it is reasonable to speculate that their Americanization (if they chose to become Americans) was a reasonable facsimile.

Conceivably, one could also examine the in-migrations of rural Americans during the two post-war periods in a similar manner and see a repetition of this process because being Americanized during the 20th century is not so much being born physically within the boundaries of the United States as it is conforming to the American urban-industrial world-view.

FOOTNOTES

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Blacks and The Schools of Gary, Indiana, 1908—1930

The great migration of southern Blacks to northern industrial cities during and after World War I created massive problems of adjustment, both for the migrants themselves and for the larger society. The dominant white society, however, particularly its political, social, and economic leaders, established the essential parameters of Black life. In housing, for example, previous patterns of segregation solidified and large Black ghettos emerged in every major northern city. Discriminatory employment practices similarly faced the primarily rural Black newcomers. Moreover, competition for jobs and housing between Blacks and whites often led to intense racial conflict and violence, such as that which flared in East St. Louis in 1917 and in Chicago in 1919. As the human flow from the South intensified, the public schools became an additional arena of racial strife and competition. The enrollment of increasing numbers of Black children, often in formerly all-white schools, stimulated fear and tension among whites and led many cities to adopt or continue formal and informal school segregation policies. This pattern prevailed in Gary, Indiana, one of the northern cities most heavily affected by the great migration. But segregation in the Gary schools was not a product of a large Black enrollment. Rather, it was introduced in the earliest years of the school system by Superintendent William Wirt and the school board.¹

The segregation of Black children in inferior all-Black schools or in separate classes in mixed schools was common practice in northern cities by 1900. Stress on educational opportunity and achievement for Blacks was widespread in the nineteenth century, particularly during Reconstruction, but this had little bearing on actual practice. As David Tyack has summarized the situation,

"across the nation many of the whites who controlled systems of public education excluded, segregated, or cheated black pupils. Negroes learned that the educational system that was to homogenize other Americans was not meant for them." Black parents and leaders often fought segregation, although occasionally supporting it because of the opportunities thereby opened for Black teachers and administrators. Whether challenged or not, however, separate schooling was widely accepted by all shades on the political spectrum before and during the Progressive era. Indeed, Progressive educators—even John Dewey, according to Walter Feinberg—became apologists for separate and inferior Black schooling because of their commitment to upholding the status quo. Feinberg's harsh criticism of Dewey and his colleague William H. Kilpatrick in this regard has been challenged, but there is little doubt that the great majority of white educational reformers accepted segregation.²

Early and continued segregation in the Gary schools was, then, in line with established policy in northern cities. The details of this situation, its establishment by Wirt and the white hierarchy as well as the resistance in the Black community, however, offer tantalizing insights into how the Gary schools operated. While the rhetoric of Progressive educators such as Wirt stressed the importance of a meaningful education for all, what was considered meaningful for Blacks differed somewhat from that offered their white neighbors. Whether segregated school facilities are inherently unequal is a question as provocative today as it was seventy years ago, and whites as well as Blacks are ranged on both sides of the issue. Without proposing a definitive answer, it is yet instructive to trace the development of a situation that has remained virtually unchanged throughout Gary's history.

The city's Black population did not increase significantly until the outbreak of World War I in Europe. Some 383 Black railroad and construction workers and their families had arrived by 1910. The turmoil of war, however, gradually disrupted European migration, forcing the steel company to turn from immigrants to the neglected reservoir of southern Black labor. This pattern became especially prevalent after the United States entered the war, for almost one fourth of the city's white mill workers entered the armed forces. Thus, in 1920 over 5,000 Blacks resided in the

city. The major influx occurred in the following decade, however, and by 1930 Gary's Black community had reached 18,000, or 17.8% of the total population of just over 100,000. After an initial period in which the steel company housed Gary's Black laborers in barracks, the workers and their families moved to the city's southern fringe. Here they lived side-by-side with eastern and southern Europeans. Although they lived in the same neighborhoods, Blacks and other ethnics did not join the same organizations, churches, or social groupings. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of significant conflict between white working class immigrants and their Black neighbors until the mid-1920s. And even then few reported incidents occurred. Indeed, there are many indications of harmony between the two. Discrimination and segregation resulted not from the beliefs and passions of the immigrant white workers, but rather from the calculated policies of the city's elite—its realtors, professionals, businessmen, steel company officials, and educators.³

In December 1908 the School Board, with Wirt's full support, agreed to establish a separate school for the city's 33 Black elementary pupils, out of a total enrollment of about 900 (while two of high school age remained in the white school). This was, naturally, done for the Black children's benefit. As the *Gary Daily Tribune* editorialized: "Negro children in white schools are many times subjected to insults which naturally embitter them against the whites. As the pupils grow older, however, there is less cause for this and in the high schools there is rarely any difficulty from that score. In Gary some objections have been raised against the segregation plan of the board of education, but fortunately those objections were raised by persons who had no children and who could hardly be expected to be competent judges. The negroes' salvation is in his own hands." With muted protests, the Black parents accepted the move. In 1913, with the opening of the Froebel School, a unit school long to remain the city's largest, all of the Black children (about 60) were transferred to the new building. Here, in the words of one of the two Black teachers, "all the formal work of the colored children in the first five grades was done with colored teachers in separate classes." A dual pattern of segregation had now been set, either separate buildings or separate classes in an integrated building. Both types would remain for many years. The students apparently quickly

fell into the pattern. "A school club was formed by the colored pupils at Froebel School yesterday afternoon," the *Gary Tribune* noted in September 1914. "The social and school spirit will be encouraged and an effort made to inculcate a premium upon being a school boy or a school girl in Gary."⁴

In the fall of 1915 two classes of Black students were transferred from Froebel to a small portable building on 21st Avenue, "more convenient to their homes." A delegation from the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People protested to the school board about such segregation, accusing the schools of "breeding race prejudice by segregation." The school remained. On the one hand, Wirt responded that Black parents were free to send their children to the separate classes at Froebel School if they wished; on the other hand, he admitted, in reply to a subsequent protest from N. A. A. C. P. national headquarters, that the Gary schools "have been segregated from the very beginning. It is a settled policy in this community to continue this segregation." In an editorial aside, the *Crisis*, the N. A. A. C. P.'s journal, remarked facetiously, "No wonder the Gary schools are considered as models throughout the land." The portable building quickly became overcrowded, and within two years there were additional portables, well over 200 pupils, and three teachers; the School Board had to rent the basement of a neighboring church to use for an auditorium. Although the extensive facilities at the Froebel and Emerson schools impressed the thousands of visitors who toured the schools during these years, a large percentage of Gary's Black pupils were forced to put up with overcrowded shacks and overworked teachers. Similar conditions, however, existed for approximately one-third of the city's six thousand pupils in the fall of 1918.⁵

While the all-Black portables rapidly expanded, the situation at Froebel School was going in the opposite direction, towards greater integration. An insufficient supply of Black teachers—indeed there seems to have been only one by 1917—led to the integration of many Blacks in regular classes. This change in policy excited some of the white parents. In October 1917 they petitioned the school board "that colored children be separated from the white, while attending said Froebel School. This separation has been a customary rule in the past and is still practised in

the schools of the North Side [Emerson School]. Therefore, it is unfair that the subscribers of this petition, who are also taxpayers, should not enjoy the same privilege only because we reside on the South Side."⁶ Two issues particularly bothered these immigrant parents: that the previously segregated situation, which they had become accustomed to, had been changed, and that they feared separate treatment from the predominately WASP, higher paid workers and managers who lived on the North Side. This fear of being victimized by the city's elite would long plague the immigrant neighborhoods.

The parents soon obtained strong support from forty-three (out of a total of fifty-four) of Froebel's teachers. J. W. Lester, the leader of the dissident teachers, later wrote that as the Black enrollment increased "conflicts grew frequent and furious." A fight broke out. Calling a special meeting, the teachers voted to ask the school board "to take steps to quell the rioting, and prevent still more dangerous developments." Lester prevailed upon the teachers to petition Principal Charles Coons instead, "as to carry the question over the head of the principal, would only reflect on him and hinder, rather than help, our cause." The petition, dated March 1, 1918 (see Appendix 1), complained of "frequent disturbances, innumerable cases of insubordination, and other ill effects of mixing the white and colored children." The teachers feared that "with the rapidly increasing colored population, the friction will be proportionately aggravated. They now constitute a positive menace to the moral and physical welfare of both pupils and teachers." In support of their case, the petition included excerpts from nineteen anonymous letters (see Appendix 2). The teachers hoped "that proper measures will be taken to safeguard the best interests of Froebel School." The teachers' complaints were heavily racist. As one noted, "the promiscuous association of the white and colored pupils is a terrible thing. It should not be allowed, particularly in a school with the large number of foreign pupils. They will soon lose sight of the color line." The teachers, mostly native American women, had had no experience in working with Black children. They could not handle the situation, which they readily admitted, although they projected onto the Black children the cause of their difficulties.⁷

Principal Coons, whom Lester blamed for refusing to listen to the teachers' complaints, questioned many of the teachers' charges. A good administrator, he was not about to relinquish his authority to his underlings. Instead, he forwarded the petition to Superintendent Wirt, pointing out his own earlier recommendation against total segregation, but with the rising Black enrollment the time might now be ripe. The problem, he noted, was "troublesome," and especially so in a school run on the Gary plan. Coons wrote, "it is necessary for us to rotate. In the Froebel School, mixed classes into cooking, sewing, art, swimming, etc. In some types of these special activities, these children do not seem to get along well together." Furthermore, he argued, many of the older Black children were practically illiterate, and when placed in lower grades with smaller children caused special problems for the teachers. Coons, in conclusion, left the final decision to the school board, noting that he would "not insist that they be taken from this school." In any event, the school would continue to function as well as possible. Wirt refused to take the matter seriously. He apparently did not inform the school board of the situation, believing that Coons was well qualified to handle the matter. Froebel would remain integrated, although soon enough an additional all-Black school would emerge on the city's east side.⁸

While Froebel School and the South Side parents and teachers were concerned about strife and segregation, to the general public all seemed well, at least so they read in the daily paper. "The Gary schools are doing more for the colored people, both children and adults, than is any other public school system in America," the *Gary Tribune* noted in July 1918. "The Gary schools not only care for all of those who voluntarily report for work but they send word to homes, churches, lodges and social gatherings, inviting our colored friends to take advantage of some one or more of the splendid things offered free to them on the same conditions as to the people of other races." The words were those of Assistant Superintendent G. W. Swartz, who was publicizing the summer school offerings for Black children and adults. Two months later Swartz repeated his optimism. He pointed out in a letter to J. E. McCoughtry, vice-president of the local N. A. A. C. P., that many white as well as Black children attended portable buildings because of the need to provide schools

within walking distance from their homes. "We are doing everything possible to take care of colored population," he assured him, "by giving the children the very best kind of program during the day, by opening the schools to them on Saturday, by giving them all the work they or their parents wish throughout the summer months, by opening up all of our buildings to the colored people in the evening, by permitting them to use our school buildings on Sunday under the same conditions as other citizens, by giving the men and women free instruction in all the industrial occupations in which they show an interest and by holding meetings for our colored citizens for the purpose of explaining the advantages the schools offer to them and urging them to attend evening classes."⁹ Swartz was sincere. What was important was to offer educational opportunities to Blacks, and encourage them to take advantage of the situation. And, after all, conditions in Gary were considerably better than those in the South. Integration or segregation were not abstract issues, only matters of convenience.

While Swartz was publicly praising the fine conditions for Black children in Gary, in private correspondence to Wirt he lamented the inferior facilities at the 21st Ave. School: "Playgrounds—Children have practically nothing to use The gym floor should be provided with circles and other geometric figures for games Clocks—2 new clocks for rooms without any. Regulate the other clocks. No two show same time. A difference of nearly 1 hour was observed in the time of two rooms. This disorganizes the school and helps to keep things topsy turvy. Lavatory—The facilities are wholly inadequate. Wash basins, more towels and two or three small mirrors should be provided." Swartz believed "the teachers want to have a good school at 21st Ave. They rightfully feel that in some respects they are neglected." Wirt, in reply, assured Swartz "we wish to do everything that we can for this school and are very glad indeed to have our attention called to failure to provide supplies, etc. We also wish to emphasize that the local school organizations cannot be permitted to shift the responsibility for the equipment of their schools to the supply department, when they have not filled out requisitions. I am inclined to feel that much of the difficulty at 21st Ave. School is due to the lack of understanding on the part of the local teachers as to the methods of securing supplies and their own

responsibility in the matter." Wirt thus deftly switched onto the teachers primary blame for the school's inadequate supplies. While the children of the 21st Ave. School were not unique in being deprived of the magnificent facilities available at the Emerson and Froebel schools, for there were seven other such portable schools in the city, it is instructive to note the inefficiency of the Gary school administration, which neglected the portables. The teachers were expected to make their needs known, although even if they did so this did not guarantee adequate supplies. And some things they were expected to furnish themselves. For example, the teachers desired a Victrola, but were expected to purchase it with their own money, even though it was "very much needed for play and auditorium in day school, evening school, and Saturday school." Whether this was common for other schools is unknown, but in the case of the 21st Ave. School it was obvious that the school board would not provide all the equipment deemed essential.¹⁰

The influx of Black workers in 1918 prompted the Gary Land Company, a subsidiary of U. S. Steel, to build houses in a sparsely populated section on the east side, which became the city's first all-Black neighborhood. In early 1919 a portable school, on Virginia Street, was erected for children in the area. According to a school history written in 1932, "It was built at the request of the parents of the Ninth Subdivision, who felt that it would be safer for their children to have a school nearer their homes." The school's all-Black population jumped from an initial thirty-five to ninety-four by September, in the first eight grades. While previous segregation had been essentially *de jure*, now it was also *de facto*. Many Blacks were hostile to this further segregation. Even before the buildings were erected, Blacks held a mass meeting "to take up the matter of segregation." But, of course, they could do nothing.¹¹ The school grew rapidly; by 1923 there were thirteen teachers and 600 children.

By 1920 racial patterns were firmly established in the Gary schools. The situation was far from satisfactory to many of the city's Black citizens, but at the same time it had its beneficial aspects. For example, the large number of Black teachers—16 by 1922, 77 by 1930—served as a source of pride and leadership in the Black community. David Tyack has noted that in those

cities with large numbers of Black teachers and administrators "there was generally a high degree of conscious segregation of Black pupils in separate schools—and normally Black teachers were only allowed to teach in these institutions." Thus segregation, while deplorable, was not altogether objectionable to some. As E. D. Simpson, the city's first Black teacher and first principal of the Virginia Street school, wrote to Wirt in early 1919: "The number of Colored Teachers has had a sudden growth and judging from the increase in our population, there shall be a still larger force necessary to handle the many children in our schools. Personally, I am extremely anxious that each of these teachers shall acquit himself with credit; that he shall give to the children an Inspiration; to the patrons Service; and to the community a noble life. Particularly, do we need at all times men and women of unquestioned moral fiber; men and women whose lives shall radiate light and enlightenment into the minds and souls of our children and grown-ups on and on throughout the years."¹² Surely, not all Black teachers would be such paragons of virtue or strong leadership, but many were very dedicated to enlightening and leading the Black community, children as well as adults. And considering the experiences of the Black children in the Froebel school with their white teachers, there was considerable merit in desiring segregated facilities with an all-Black staff. This view would become most eloquently articulated by F. C. McFarlane, principal of Roosevelt school, in the late 1920s: much earlier, however, it had its spokesmen.

In a letter to the *Gary Tribune* in January 1921, one John H. Smith praised the Black schools for "providing employment for several of our young ladies, who have gone to school for years and qualified themselves to fill the position as teacher of our children." Then, he continued, "in fact there are no segregated schools in Gary, only so far as the parents of the children choose to make it. There is nothing to prohibit colored children from going to any of the schools, and there is nothing to prohibit white children from going to any of the schools It is only a matter of race pride on the part of the parents of the children of each race." This was not entirely true. Indeed, the existence of segregated schools in Gary resulted from *de facto* and *de jure* conditions, as well as voluntary choices by both white and black parents.¹³

While voluntary segregation was prominent, simultaneously civil rights activists in the city continued to protest such conditions. The visit in April 1921 of Dean William Pickens, the N. A. A. C. P.'s associate field secretary, elicited from Wirt and the Gary Land Company's H. S. Norton statements "on what has already been done for the advancement of colored people in Gary," indicating "that the foundation has been firmly laid for eliminating any prejudice that might have existed." They were referring not to the demise of segregation, but to the attempt to provide somewhat equal facilities and opportunities for Black children, such as the "colored trade school" established at the 25th Ave. school, which epitomized school segregation. The origins and development of the school are indicative of how far segregation had developed. In the words of Jacob Reddix, a Black teacher who arrived in Gary a few years later: "the Twenty-First Avenue Elementary School for Negro Children ... was moved to the site of Twenty-Fifth Avenue and Harrison Street, in 1921, where there was already an elementary school for white children under the principalship of J. W. Stanley. The two schools were independent of one another—the black school with a black principal and faculty, the white school with a white principal and faculty." From 1923 to 1929 the schools remained separate, but were under the control of one white principal; in the latter year the black school (Roosevelt Annex) again obtained its own black principal, F. C. McFarlane. In addition to the basic elementary classes, the Black school also had a trade school for teenagers, with courses deemed fitting for Blacks, such as pipe fitting, sheet metal, and mechanical drawing for the boys and home economics for the girls. "With the organization of the trade school, the Gary system continues to advance the new order of secondary education by adjusting instruction along the lines which function in the lives of the boys and girls after they leave school," Albert Fertsch proudly announced in an article on the program. This new "realism" in education was becoming very popular at this time, but also served to channel Blacks (as well as many whites) into manual vocations.¹⁴

While the establishment of the 25th Ave. school with its vocational program was a step forward in Wirt's thinking, many Blacks refused to accept the principle of forced segregation. In September 1921 Wirt and the school board were informed of the

"Dissatisfaction of colored residents and parents with certain prejudicial practices— transfers, etc., now obtaining in the Gary schools." Specifically, the parents complained of "Transferring of pupils (colored) from Froebel school to schools not carrying the same grades or class work to which the pupils are eligible and entitled. Transferring colored pupils to courses not selected by them or their parents or guardians— (Vocational work). Creating distinct Negro school centers." The situation remained unchanged. In 1923 a new protest tactic was attempted. Lewis Campbell, formerly secretary of the local N. A. A. C. P., presented a petition to state school superintendent Benjamin Burris protesting "alleged unsatisfactory school conditions" in the city. The state authorities referred the matter back to Wirt.¹⁵

Whether the petition complained about segregation or inferior facilities in the Black schools is unclear, but the following year the issue of segregation again surfaced publicly. Black attorney W. C. Hueston, a leading civil rights advocate, complained to Wirt about assignment of Black children to the Virginia Street School. The principal of the nearby Pulaski School had asserted "that her school was for the Polish and the Virginia Street School was for Negroes." Hueston believed that most Black children would voluntarily attend the Virginia Street School, but he added that "it is the pride of the Negroes here that we do not, at least in policy, have a separate school system." Besides, it was wrong to tell the Polish children "that we have a separate school for them and one for Negroes." Hueston's letter neatly summarized the major threads of Black attitudes towards school segregation: it was probably favored by most Blacks, but it was wrong in principle, and it instilled racism in recent white immigrants. Wirt, in response, argued that the Pulaski School was all white because of the wishes of the parents in that district. "In order to prevent serious race conditions in the schools," he continued, "it is the policy to offer, if possible, opportunities for determined individuals to escape conditions that conflict seriously with their prejudices. We have, therefore, one separate school for whites, two for colored, and fifteen for both." For Wirt the fault was, naturally, with the bigoted parents, who preferred segregation. He took no credit (or blame) for the situation. And in arguing that the remaining fifteen schools were integrated he was being even more disingenuous, for *de facto* residential segregation meant

that only the Froebel school was in any way integrated. Passing the buck was a common practice when dealing with segregation, and Writ was as skilled as any at the practice.¹⁶

By the mid-1920s, then, segregation had been established in the Gary schools, but this did not mean that all accepted the situation. Part of the problem was the lack of consistency, for segregation and integration existed side by side, with critics and defenders among both whites and Blacks. The confusion among whites over which policy was the most important surfaced in 1927 during the Emerson School strike.¹⁷ Among Blacks the dialogue among integrationists and separationists was more subtle, and yet more blatant, becoming personalized in the figures of F. C. McFarlane and H. Theo. Tatum. McFarlane, principal of Roosevelt Annex School, in the words of Jacob Reddix, his colleague and friend, "brought to Gary a well defined philosophy of black education which he believed would be beneficial to Negro children who had traditionally been legally segregated in the South and were increasingly subjected to *de facto* segregation in the North." McFarlane believed in separate Black schools, where "Negro children could develop dignity, pride, and self-respect. Under the conditions existing in Gary in 1927, however, the black child inevitably developed an inferiority complex." This problem would be partially solved by the opening of the Roosevelt school in 1931.¹⁸ McFarlane represented Black pride and the acceptance of segregation as the means to achieve community development and cohesiveness.

In contrast to McFarlane and his Black separatist position was H. Theo. Tatum, who became principal of Virginia Street school in 1925. Tatum, a strong integrationist, and a believer in working closely with the white power structure in the city, nevertheless in heading all-Black schools was forced to encourage Black community pride and involvement. "I accepted the thesis that it is the chief duty of a school to establish itself as a community asset through its contribution in enabling that community to realize on its investments in terms of citizenship, character, and social efficiency," Tatum wrote in his 1927 yearly report. A strong administrator, he "tried to promote a genuine feeling of confidence between the principal and teachers, and the teaching corps and student-body. This tended to bring about a wholesome respect

for authority and a whole-hearted participation in all school affairs." In addition to encouraging internal school discipline and dedication, Tatum also emphasized the importance of working with parents and "worthwhile civic organizations." The following year, with an enrollment of over 850, in grades K-8, Tatum reported "measurable improvement in the character of instruction and the added facilities offered for same." He did complain of the delapidated buildings, but assumed that "the superior wisdom of the school authorities" would soon solve the problem. And they did. A new brick building and adjoining portables were constructed near the all-white Pulaski School, and in the fall of 1928 the Virginia Street School moved the few blocks and became known as the East Pulaski School, entirely separate from its re-named white neighbor, the West Pulaski School.¹⁹ They remained divided until 1951. School segregation had seemingly reached its epitomy in Gary, with separate white and Black schools adjoining one another at both the Pulaski and Roosevelt locations, with only the Froebel School still remaining integrated, although even here there was considerable social segregation. By the late 1920s the system had become well established, although this did not mean that it was acceptable to Blacks or whites, as would soon become apparent.

Black protest against segregation and inferior facilities was infrequent and of little effect in northern cities in the early decades of the twentieth century. White resistance was, of course, partly to blame. But, in addition, there was no clear consensus within the Black community as to what should be accomplished. Blacks were particularly torn between integration in principle and separation in practice, with the latter most often winning out, even among strong integrationists such as Tatum. The Black community was proud of the schooling facilities offered their children in Gary, often inadequate compared to Froebel and some of the white schools, but a definite cut above what they had known in the South. And they strongly favored the Gary School Plan. In weighing abstract issues against concrete realities, Blacks consistently favored separate facilities, although not always desiring to admit that this was so. They were, of course, encouraged by Wirt, the School Board, and the white elites in Gary, who were the first to establish segregation in 1908, and who always justified their actions by putting the blame on the white

immigrants. Whether the latter were inclined towards segregation before they arrived or learned racism from the established leaders is currently in doubt, although there is strong evidence supporting the latter.²⁰ In any case, segregated school patterns persisted. A 1962 investigation of the Gary schools by the N. A. A. C. P. confirmed intensified patterns of segregation in post-World War II years. In 1951, 85 percent of Gary's schools were segregated, and 83 percent of the city's Black children attended such schools. By 1961, 90 percent of the schools had been segregated, and 97 percent of the Black children went to segregated schools.²¹ And in the past decade, discussions of integration have been rendered almost meaningless by white flight to outlying suburbs which threatens to transform Gary into a totally Black city. Thus, the Gary Schools were segregated from the earliest years and have remained so to the present, through a combination of *de facto* and *de jure* conditions in the city.

APPENDIX 1

PETITION OF FROEBEL TEACHERS TO PRINCIPAL CHARLES S. COONS, MARCH 1, 1918

Sir,

Owing to the frequent disturbances, innumerable cases of insubordination, and other ill effects of mixing the white and colored children in Froebel School, the undersigned members of the faculty desire to bring the matter before you, with the request that you present the same to Mr. Wirt and the members of the school board. We hope that some definite and early action may be taken to relieve the situation.

In the interest of the white children as well as of the better element of the colored children, something should be done. Although the conditions as they now exist are serious, it is only logical to believe that, with the rapidly increasing colored population, the friction will be proportionately aggravated. They now constitute a positive menace to the moral and physical welfare of both pupils and teachers.

A number of letters from teachers who have had disagreeable experiences with the colored children, are appended. While a few instances only are cited specifically, not a day passes that disturbances do not occur, being brought about either by indivi-

duals or groups of colored children. This condition was brought to a climax in the recent concerted attack by colored girls on Miss Hansen, a director of physical training.

We firmly believe that such an occurrence should not be repeated and trust that proper measures will be taken to safeguard the best interests of Froebel School.

APPENDIX 2

LETTERS FROM FROEBEL TEACHERS "ON THE SUBJECT OF MIXING WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN IN FROEBEL SCHOOL," MARCH 1, 1918.

Letter No. 1.

I have had only a very few colored children to deal with this year, but they form more or less a disturbing element, and in many cases I have had to send them from the classes.

Letter No. 2.

I object to colored children in classes, because of poor attendance, deficient work and resistance in cases of discipline. The white children do not like them to handle their books.

Letter No. 3.

I find that it is dangerous to pass up and down stairs when a class of colored children are dismissed. They act like a pack of wild animals let loose. I have had trouble with one colored boy in my class. He is a menace to the other children.

Letter No. 4.

I had several large girls who would not work, and I had to remove them from the class, as their example was so bad for their classmates who were white. Mrs. also had the same girls removed.

Letter No. 5.

I find the colored children more irregular in attendance than the white children. They skip their classes more. They loiter around, congregate in the corridors and are a menace to good order there. They are loud spoken and their language is sometimes dreadful. Many times we are nearly knocked down by them.

Letter No. 6.

For the last year we have had many colored children enter the beginning first grade class of the Infant School. Many of them are over age, any where from eight to twelve years and have never been to school. They are entirely out of place with children of six or seven. Their influence is bad in many ways. All have been directed to the 21st St. School, but few have been willing to go there. (Signed by three teachers).

Letter No. 7.

In September I had children threaten to leave Froebel and go to Emerson because a colored child was admitted to class. This same class has had colored children placed in it until it is almost half and half. The white children resented this very much. I have found colored children most irregular in attendance. Reasons for absence are seldom excusable. Colored children in my classes resent correction to a marked degree.

Letter No. 8.

My room is near the boys' locker entrance and I have found all colored boys more than ten or twelve years of age, defiant whenever it has been necessary for me to make any suggestions regarding hall order. Even when a group is made up of white and colored pupils the white boys respond quickly and respectfully while the colored boys are always rude and defiant in word or attitude or both. Large colored girls have had the same attitude the few times I have had to speak to groups assembled in the corridors. White boys have been defiant a very few times.

Letter No. 9.

The number of idle boys and girls roaming the halls in Froebel School is astounding. I am constantly being annoyed by a congregation of them outside my door, laughing and talking loudly and pulling one another around in rough fashion. If they are not immediately outside my door, they are hanging around in the vestibule near my door. When I go to the door to drive them away, I am met by insolent looks and muttered retorts as they move on up the hall to annoy some other teacher.

Letter No. 10.

The colored boys have been causing a great deal of trouble this year. Numerous cases of imposing on smaller white boys

have occurred. The colored boys "hang around" in groups and obey very slowly and very unwillingly, and many times "violence" must be mentioned before obedience is obtained. I honestly think that the proper solution of the matter is to put all the colored children in a school of their own and give them all the advantages that it is possible to give them.

Letter No. 11.

I have found that many of the colored boys must be held in line by forceful means. They are a source of much trouble and confusion in the corridors. On one occasion a large colored boy attacked me with his fists when I ordered him to put in order a pile of books which he had disarranged. A short time ago, a colored boy who was not in my class repeatedly ran into my room and caused disturbances during class change. Finally I caught him and gave him a good shaking, after which he was very impudent and gave me to understand that his Father "would do a plenty to me."

Letter No. 12.

The larger colored pupils have been very rude and ugly when necessary to speak to them in regard to hall order. I have had so much trouble with their hanging around my door. They resented and were very ugly when asked to quit or leave. On many occasions the noise increased and they told me it was not my *business* to tell *them* what to do. I saw when they began to collect around me that I would have trouble perhaps that I could not get out of, so sent word to the office or janitor. The white children have caused the same disturbance, but just going to the door, or speaking to them, would be sufficient and they would leave.

Letter No. 13.

Upon asking a colored girl for the third time to be silent, her answer was, "won't". Immediately I slapped her, and she returned the slap and refused to be quiet. She then walked from the room. This girl was Ann Fleming. At the same time two other colored girls were telling her not to let the teacher boss her. The following day, one of the colored girls who had helped to incite meanness into Anna and who was still angry on account of my correcting her the day before, came to me before the class began (I was standing in the hall) and said she wouldn't come to my

class. I told her to walk into the class room— her answer was “I won’t!” I stepped forward to take her by the shoulder to lead her into the room and she began to fight with me. I was strong enough to get her under control, but as soon as I let go of her she ran down the hall. This insulting, rude, bold girl, was Maxine Owsley.

Letter No. 14

Conditions at Froebel School with the large number of colored children, is intolerable. The colored children, particularly the large colored girls, have a very bad influence in the classes in which they are placed. They are disobedient and impertinent and are always looking for slights from the teachers, or for some evidence of favoritism toward the white pupils. They incite the white pupils to acts of rebellion against authority of the teacher. Much of the obscene matter that has been circulated in the upper grade classes I have traced to colored pupils. Several of the larger girls have refused to obey me and have refused to do work assigned them. When they were compelled to do it, all that has kept them from attacking me was the fear that they might get the worst of the encounter. The confusion in the upper hall, where colored children congregate is dreadful. The door of my room ... is open, and words of abuse shouted in. Some faces are pressed to the glass half of the time. The screeching and howling has made me too nervous to work. The odor in the rooms where colored classes are held, makes me deathly sick. The room is not fit for use the next hour. The promiscuous association of the white and colored pupils is a terrible thing. It should not be allowed, particularly in a school with the large number of foreign pupils. They will soon lose sight of the color line. If something is not done soon, the situation will be dangerous.

Letter No. 15

I believe that something ought to be done at once to make impossible a repetition of last Wednesday’s “race riot.” That no one was seriously injured was due to the fact that a close guard was placed on all halls, and groups broken up and not allowed to congregate. The same group of colored girls has been a constant trouble to many other teachers. Physically larger than their teachers, they attempt to dominate the classes in which their mentality places them. When discipline is attempted, they are either sullen

or saucy, and always ready with an excuse. Their attendance is always irregular and their conduct and language is a bad example to other children. I have been called names which no decent person can take, and have had to take the discipline upon myself and do it promptly as an example to those standing about. It has come to the place where a group of colored girls attacked a white teacher who is taking a girl to the office, and the feeling is strong among the older white students that they ought to be "cleaned out" of Froebel, and any one who has seen a high school "strike" knows that if it ever starts, it will be done thoroughly, and the results will be something none of us want to consider.

Letter No. 16.

While attempting to correct two large colored girls who had attacked several white children in the corridors, they threatened to fight, and became unmanageable. Later on a colored girl in one of my high school classes, called one of the white boys a name which is considered an insult by any self-respecting person. This was done while standing, and in a loud voice.

Letter No. 17.

The colored children were always especially difficult to manage in the auditoriums. Mr. Chandler and many of the other teachers were constantly having trouble. One day at noon a very large colored girl became so violently angry that for a few moments I was really afraid—simply because, *through her own fault*, she was to be detained not more than a minute or two. In dismissing the auditorium, Mr. Chandler insisted that the children should pass out the narrow side aisle according to the way they were seated. In this case, however, this colored girl was so distracted by something in the middle aisle, that she did not notice that her row was passing, and remained standing, detaining not only herself, but three or four girls behind her. I said nothing, but merely motioned to the next row to start out. When this girl finally "woke up" she hurried to the side aisle, but I innocently said, "Wait a moment, Anna." There were not more than two more rows to be dismissed, which probably would have taken only a half a minute, and I had no thought of punishing these few girls. However, this girl flared up into a rage, and with a sneer, she brought her face close to mine, and said, "Just because I'm black, you white teachers think you can make me do

anything you please. I'll show you!" I calmly explained that there were white girls behind her whom *she* was detaining, and I told her that whether she was white or black made no difference for we would correct them no matter what color their skin happened to be. In a little while her *big* sister came in to "help" her, for it was noontime and the auditorium had been cleared, and the sister insisted that "Whatever was her sister's affair was her business too" and was as ugly and impudent as her sister. Although I finally succeeded in sending the sister out, and, in getting the other girl calm and quiet and in an apologetic mood, there was grave danger of an attack. That seemed to be attitude of those children down there— "Just because they were black" when in reality the teachers *had* to be more liberal towards them than towards others.

Letter No. 18.

I attempted to punish a small colored girl who was very disorderly in hall line, by taking her into the class room ahead of her class. Two large colored girls witnessed the affair and at once approached me in a threatening manner, demanding that I let the child alone, requesting her not to obey me, and making all sorts of insulting remarks in general. This represents the spirit that prevails among the colored children. They resent any form of punishment or even suggestion regarding their conduct in school.

Letter No. 19.

I have found the colored girls exceedingly harder to discipline than the white girls. They are disobedient and disregard the rules of the gymnasium and playground and they resent correction. As a whole, they cannot be trusted. They are rude and mean to the little white girls. I have found them loafing around the halls with the colored boys, and when spoken to they have been rude and disrespectful, and have more than once laid hands on me. In two instances I have been struck and kicked by colored girls.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, in particular, Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900-1920* (Garden City, N. Y., 1975), 178-186 on segregated schooling.

2. Tyack, *The One Best System* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 110, and 109-125 in general; Feinberg, *Reason and Rhetoric* (New York, 1975), 108-121. For evidence of white Progressives' acceptance of segregation or their inability to challenge it directly into the 1930s see Ronald K. Goodenow, "The Progressive Education Movement and Blacks: Some Preliminary Observations on the Latent Functions of Educational Reform," unpub. paper delivered at 1973 American Educational Studies Association meeting, Denver, Colorado, and Goodenow, "The Progressive Educator, Race and Ethnicity in the Depression Years: An Overview," *History of Education Quarterly*, XV (Winter 1975), 365-394.
3. Neil Betten and Raymond A. Mohl, "The Evolution of Racism in an Industrial City, 1906-1940: A Case Study of Gary, Indiana," *Journal of Negro History*, LIX (January 1974), 1-64; Elizabeth Balanoff, "A History of the Black Community of Gary, Indiana, 1906-1940," unpub. Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1974.
4. *Gary Daily Tribune*, December 15, 1908, 2; Elizabeth Lytle, "The Model Schools of Gary, Indiana," *Crisis*, 13 (January 1917), 121; *Gary Tribune*, September 19, 1914, 6.
5. Lytle, "The Model Schools of Gary, Indiana," *Crisis*, 13 (January 1917), 121; *Gary Tribune*, September 29, 1916, 1; John Foster Potts, "A History of the Growth of the Negro Population of Gary, Indiana," unpub. MA thesis, Cornell University, September 1937, 8-10.
6. Petition to the Honorable School Board, October, 2, 1937, ms, William A. Wirt MSS, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. There were few if any black students at the Emerson or Jefferson schools, on the North side.
7. J. William Lester, Sr., "Rifts in 'The World's Greatest Schools,'" (pamphlet, Gary, Ind., 1930, copy in Indiana Room, Gary Public Library), 8; J. W. Lester *et al* to Charles S. Coons, March 1, 1918, Wirt MSS, Lilly Lib.
8. Coons to Wirt, March 25, 1918, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.
9. *Gary Tribune*, July 13, 1918, 1; Swartz to McCoughtry, September 27, 1918, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.
10. Swartz to Wirt, October 28, 1918, Wirt to Swartz, October 30, 1918, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.
11. *The Sand Dune*, 1932 (yearbook of East Pulaski High School), 6; McCoughtry to Swartz, September 25, 1918, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.
12. Tyack, *One Best System*, 226, and 217-229 for segregation in northern cities; Simpson to Wirt, January 20, 1919, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.
13. Smith to the Editor, *Gary Tribune*, January 17, 1921, 8.
14. *Gary Tribune*, April 11, 1921, 6; Jacob L. Reddix, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (Jackson, Miss., 1974), 107-108; Fertsch, "Colored Trade School at Gary, Ind.," *School Life*, 7 (November 1921), 65. While the two schools were supposed to be separate, in 1922 there was a complaint of a white teacher who wanted to be transferred "because

of the mixed classes, that is, the mingling of the different races." G. W. Swartz to Wirt, September 20, 1922, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.

15. "Program of Topics under consideration by Peoples' Committee ... to be brought to the attention of the Superintendent of Gary Schools and the Board of Education of Gary, Indiana," September 29, 1921, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library; *Gary Post-Tribune*, January 31, 1923, 2; E. E. Ramsey to Wirt, April 11, 1923, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.
16. Hueston to Wirt, September 6, 1924, Wirt to Hueston, September 11, 1924, Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.
17. See Ronald D. Cohen, "The Gary Schools and Progressive Education in the 1920s," paper delivered at American Educational Research Association, Washington, D. C., April 2, 1975.
18. Reddix, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 109.
19. Tatum, "Annual Report of Virginia Street, Session 1926-1927," (June 14, 1927), Tatum "Annual Report of Virginia School, Session 1927-28," (June 2, 1928), Wirt MSS, Lilly Library.
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21. Max Wolff, "Segregation in the Schools of Gary, Indiana," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 36 (February 1963), 253.

Public Education and Americanization : 1890-1920

American industry experienced a period of immense growth in the latter stages of the nineteenth and in the early decades of the twentieth century. This phenomenon contributed heavily to several major changes in the fabric and structure of American society. One alteration which industrial expansion helped to bring about was the growth of large cities. New York City, for instance, reported a population of 850,000 in 1860, in 1914 it was almost four million.¹ Factory workers, and their families, of necessity lived close to the plants which were located, for the most part, in the metropolitan centers of the northeast sections of the country.

Industrial expansion also required huge pools of cheap labor. The sources for this labor was immigration. The immigrants, those arriving after 1890 especially, were needed for America's burgeoning industries. And, as Table I indicates, southern and eastern Europe became the major suppliers of immigrants after 1890, replacing northern and western Europe. For the most part, immigrants from northern and western Europe had been satisfactorily assimilated into the mainstream of American society. The later arrivals, however, were not as readily welcomed nor as easily digested.

TABLE I²

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION, 1861-1920					
<i>Period</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Northwest Europe Number</i>	<i>Europe Percent</i>	<i>South and East Europe Number</i>	<i>Europe Percent</i>
1861-1870	2,314,824	2,031,624	87.8	33,628	1.4
1871-1880	2,812,191	2,070,373	73.6	201,889	7.2
1881-1890	5,246,613	3,778,633	72.0	958,413	18.3
1891-1900	3,687,564	1,643,492	44.6	1,915,486	51.9
1901-1910	8,795,386	1,910,035	21.7	6,225,981	70.8
1911-1920	5,735,811	997,438	17.4	3,379,126	58.9

While these immigrants were deemed desirable insofar as they provided a supply of cheap labor for the factories, their presence evoked sentiments of fear, of hostility and bigotry, from some influential political and social sectors of the country. Their numbers (about ten million Bohemians, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Rumanians, Russians and Slovaks entered the United States between 1890 and 1914³), their clustering together in ethnic "ghettoes" in metropolitan areas, and their clinging to old-world customs and languages added to and intensified nativist suspicions, which were expressed in political and social circles.

The rhetoric of Senator Morrill of Vermont is one example of nativist political thought. He argued that the country had no responsibility to become a "universal almsgiver," taking in "all classes of alien irreclaimable maniacs, mendicants and miscreants," supporting the "weak, vile and hungry outcasts" from Europe who had come to the United States "not only to stay themselves, but to transmit hereditary taints to the third and fourth generations."⁴ Two congressional representatives from Massachusetts, a state with a large immigrant population, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Representative McCall, in 1895 proposed that a literacy test be given to potential immigrants. All those over fourteen years of age who could not read and write some language would not be allowed to enter the country.⁵ (The countries from which the immigrants came after 1890 had a relatively high illiteracy rate. Further, many of the immigrants were poor, and poverty often meant illiteracy.)

Social organizations were formed, such as the American Protective Association, to defend "American" values. The Immigration Restriction League was organized to combat unrestricted immigration. Its literature contended that southern and eastern Europe were dumping large numbers of "illiterates, paupers, criminals, and madmen" into the United States, a trend which was endangering the nation and its way of life.⁶ The League categorized the European "races" as follows: "Teuton," "Nordic," "Alpine," and "Mediterranean". It claimed that the first two were far superior to the latter two, and should avoid social interaction with them.⁷

Some "scholarly" persons added their voices to the chorus of social concern over the immigrants. One such was the President

of the Museum of Natural History, the New York aristocrat Madison Grant. He maintained that western Europeans were "always and everywhere a race of soldiers, sailors, adventurers and explorers, but above all of rulers, organizers and aristocrats in sharp contrast to the essentially peasant character of the Alpines."⁸

Edward A. Ross, a prominent sociologist, wrote in a similar vein. He asserted that the new immigration, flowing from "different sources" than earlier, tapped "lower human levels". These immigrants, "beaten members of beaten breeds, often the more aboriginal men that have been elbowed aside or left behind in the swayings of the mightier European races," could not but affect the nation adversely. They were, Ross wrote, "As undersized in spirit, no doubt as they are in body," and necessarily would "impede our progress."⁹ They were an unsatisfactory substitute for their predecessors, he averred, contending that "The cheap stucco manikins do not really take the place of the unbegotten sons of the granite men who fell at Gettysburg and Cold Harbor."¹⁰

Ross was one of those who saw in the immigrants a new, influential and formidable challenge for the public schools. He described the formative role of the school as follows:

To collect little plastic lumps of human dough from private households and shape them on the social kneading-board, exhibits a faith in the power of suggestion which few people ever attain to. And so it happens that the role of the schoolmaster in the social economy is just beginning.¹¹

Schools should, according to Ross, promote order, serve as an economic system of police, and replace religion as "the method of indirect social restraint."¹²

G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University and an eminent child psychologist, foresaw little chance of academic achievement for the immigrants' children. They comprised, to him, an "army of incapables" who could not profit from advanced education. They should be placed in a "dullard school," therein to be trained for citizenship and the life of an obedient servant.¹³

Industrialization, urbanization, and immigration affected the organization and curricular processes of schools. David Tyack, in his *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Educa-*

tion, has described the process by which "administrative progressives" and their allies, corporate leaders, centralized the organization and administration of public schooling in American cities. (Industrialization had advanced corporate business leaders to positions of prominence in metropolitan areas.) Educational leaders were concerned, at the same time, with "Americanizing" the influx of immigrant children and native-born offspring of immigrants who had inundated the public schools of the nation's largest cities, many of them in the north-east section of the country. The following figures show how immigration had affected the schools. In 1909 57.8 per cent of the pupils in the schools of thirty-seven of the nation's largest cities were either themselves immigrants or the children of foreign-born fathers.¹⁴ Better than one-half of the students who were children of foreign-born fathers from non-English speaking countries came from homes where English was not spoken.¹⁵ In one New York City classroom there were children from twenty-five different nationalities.¹⁶ (These school statistics reflected the demographic changes which had occurred in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island as a result of immigration. There the percentage of people who were foreign-born or had one parent foreign-born exceeded 50 percent.¹⁷)

Educators voiced their concern at meetings, in the journals, and in books. As early as 1890 one speaker at the National Education Association (NEA) meeting praised the high school for the beneficial influence it had on the children of workers. He claimed that high school education lifted the curtain from the minds of these children which their social class had imposed on them.¹⁸ Seven years later the Superintendent of New York's schools declared at the NEA meeting that the children of the "plain people" were filling the schools with the result that in a short time the "children of the masses and not of the classes will rule us."¹⁹ An editorial which appeared in *Education* magazine declared that immigration had placed the industries of the urban northeast "in a state of perpetual siege by an army of semi-savages."²⁰

Ellwood P. Cubberley, one of the leaders in the recently developed field of Educational Administration, and an influential figure in the world of education, called attention to the problems

the immigrants had caused American society in general and public education in particular. He described the latest arrivals as "Largely illiterate, docile, lacking in initiative and almost wholly without the Anglo-Saxon conceptions of righteousness, liberty, law, order, public decency, and government." They could not but "dilute tremendously our national stock and to weaken and corrupt our political life." Further, they had caused "popular education" to become "everywhere more difficult by their presence."²¹

As it regularly does in a time of crisis, the nation looked to its schools for assistance. This time the schools were called upon to "civilize" or "Americanize" this horde of foreigners. The schools were to perform this task efficiently, *i. e.*, at low cost. The prospect, and later reality, of world war gave added urgency to the task. Another editorial in *Education* magazine, for instance, alleged that the "hope of salvation" for the "undisciplined and uncouth hordes of foreigners" rested with the schools.²² The Director of Americanization in the United States Bureau of Education maintained that the schools ought to be "the hub upon which all the other forces of the State and community" depend in working with the immigrants.²³ Cubberley, for one, felt that the vast numbers of "foreigners" in the nation called for herculean efforts on the part of school people. Their task, as he saw it, was :

..... to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government, and to awaken in them, a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth.²⁴

Schooling became, as Richard Pratte says, the major if not the only educative force in society in the eyes of some educators.²⁵ Some, such as David Snedden, felt that the school was in a unique position to influence society since it alone of all institutions was completely under state control.²⁶ The schools, as Cremin observes, sometimes became (willingly or unwillingly) foster parents to the immigrant children.²⁷

This role cast the school in a powerful position. Sometimes, as with the school baths in New York City, the school operated

as a humane force. At other times it was not so humane. In some instances it became a divisive force between immigrant parents and their children. (One source for some examples of this is Francesco Cordasco's and Eugene Bucchioni's *The Italians : Social Backgrounds of an American Group* [Clifton, N. J. : Augustus M. Kelley, 1974]. Cordasco and Bucchioni cite a number of examples which show how the cultural values of the South Italian family were sometimes at odds with compulsory-attendance, English language, "Americanizing" public schools.) There are other instances which highlight the cultural conflict. One such is a son, brought to trial for physically resisting his father's attempt to discipline him, arguing that an American (himself) should not "get licked" by a foreigner (his father).²⁸ Instances such as these prompted Jane Addams to complain at the 1909 NEA meeting that the public school had too often divided immigrant parents and their children. She urged that the schools welcome the immigrants into the mainstream of American society "upon the basis of the resources which they represent and the contributions which they bring."²⁹ Six years later she expressed similar concern, asking "..... why should that chasm between fathers and sons, yawning at the feet of each generation, be made so unnecessarily cruel and impassable to these bewildered immigrants ?"³⁰

The schools were not always able, even if willing, to follow Miss Addams' advice. There were a number of reasons for this. One was the consolidation of power in central school administration in metropolitan areas and the resultant programs of school leaders which did not acknowledge (nor accept) the values of what is called today cultural pluralism. Convinced that they knew what was best, these "administrative progressives," as Tyack has called them, with their allies, the corporate leaders and other businessmen who served on metropolitan school boards, pushed programs which were distinctly "American" in character. Some educators rued the non-school hours, viewing them as "street and alley" time, which undid the noble work of the schools. Other public educators decried the existence of parochial schools. These schools, almost always Catholic, were seen as divisive because, in addition to their religious teaching, they were thought to be an attempt to maintain "old world" languages and customs. The alliance of church with immigrant home, when coupled with

parochial education, was viewed as an obstacle to develop good, loyal citizens.

The ominous clouds of World War I added a note of urgency to the "Americanizing" task of the public schools. The nation needed to be certain of the loyalty of its recent arrivals. Consequently, Civics and American History courses were extended and intensified in the schools. American heroes were extolled and "American" virtues praised in texts and in lessons of teachers. Citizenship education took on a high priority in the aims of schools, culminating in the Cardinal Principles report of 1918. This report, a product of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education which the NEA had formed in 1913, recommended an extension of the length and breadth of the public secondary school. The report advised compulsory school attendance for all American youth until age eighteen.³¹ The high school curriculum was to be organized around seven Principles (more accurately called aims). Among them were the following, which point out the broadened role of the school: "worthy home membership," "ethical character," and "worthy use of leisure". "Citizenship" was another specific objective.³² The public school, some educators felt, evidently was the proper place to teach students how to be good members of families, as well as the source of their moral behavior, responsibilities which traditionally had belonged to home and church.

Pressures toward eradicating foreign elements in American society and in its schools continued into the 1920s. The activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and legislation against foreign languages in the curriculum evidence this. So does the attempt of the state of Oregon to require attendance in public schools, ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1925. (The Court in 1923 also overturned a Nebraska statute which forbade the teaching of any modern foreign language in any public or private school in the state before the ninth grade.)

Some children of immigrants did achieve well in schools, others did not, as shown by, among others, Michael Olneck and Marvin Lazerson. Stating that there has been a "good deal of polemic and a paucity of data" on the topic, Olneck and Lazerson contend that too much has been written about "the immigrant experience," with little attention devoted to the differences in

school achievement between nationality groups.³³ Eastern European Jewish immigrants, for instance, experienced much more success in schools than did their southern Italian counterparts.³⁴ Some immigrant children had high aspirations as well. In one eighth grade class of 39 pupils, located in a Jewish immigrant neighborhood, according to the students' expressed desires, there were nine prospective lawyers, six civil engineers, three dentists, three doctors, and two teachers.³⁵

The immigrants were not met solely with a warm embrace by native Americans. But, for Jewish immigrants, there were no pogroms nor sudden knocks on the door at midnight. Often there was hard, long work at low pay, there was child labor, there was poverty and prejudice. There was also gold, as one immigrant described the scene to Alistair Cooke :

But there was gold to us. There were markets groaning with food and clothes. There were streetcars all over town. You could watch the automobiles. There was no military on horseback and no whips. The neighbors were out in the open, trading and shouting, enjoying free fights. And to a boy like me it was a ball, a friendship club. The streets were an open road.³⁶

Undoubtedly the public school did not provide the ladder to success for any immigrant who possessed the intelligence and fortitude, as Ellwood P. Cubberley and other "house historians" have contended. Neither, however, is it fair to allege that all educational personnel engaged in a massive conspiracy to hold down the immigrant.³⁷ It is true that some teachers' efforts to assist immigrant children were hampered by the public school bureaucracy.³⁸ It is also true that school committees (or boards) did look down on the poor, immigrant children. (This attitude of condescension was not new. For instance, in 1857 this is what the Boston School Committee perceived its responsibility to be in the schooling of poor children there :

... taking children at random from a great city, undisciplined, uninstructed, often with inveterate forwardness, and obstinacy, and with the inherited stupidity of centuries of ignorant ancestors; forming them from animals into intellectual beings, and ... from intellectual beings into spiritual beings; giving to many their first appreciation of what is wise, what

is true, what is lovely and what is pure.³⁹⁾

Some thirty years later, a Boston School Committee member, Samuel Capen, writing to uphold the need for corporal punishment in the schools, declared :

This whole question of corporal punishment is largely one of civilization, and the amount required for the discipline of a school depends mainly upon the character of the people composing that school.⁴⁰⁾

The character of the pupils depended on the quality of their family life, and Capen clearly identified immigrant families as deficient in this regard.⁴¹⁾

There were also prominent Americans, like President Theodore Roosevelt, the trust-buster, who pushed for social legislation that would benefit immigrant workers. The same Roosevelt would say :

We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns people out as Americans.⁴²⁾

In Roosevelt's view, there should be no more "hyphenated-Americans."⁴³⁾ There were organizations like the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), which sought to use schools to teach immigrants obedience to the law, which the DAR felt was the "groundwork of true citizenship."⁴⁴⁾ There were schools where children were made to feel that to be an American they must be ashamed of their ethnic background.⁴⁵⁾ On the other hand there were schools where to be bigoted was to be un-American.⁴⁶⁾

The issue of "Americanization" of the immigrants in urban schools, created by the industrialization and urbanization of the years between 1890 and 1920 is a complex, many-faceted one. In some instances, as with Mary Antin (*The Promised Land*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), the educational experience was favorable. With others it was painful. The existence and ignoring of compulsory attendance legislation support individual student anecdotes that school was not a pleasant place for all to be. (An estimated 40,000 children of school age were truant in New York City in the early twentieth century⁴⁷⁾; in 1906 in Massachusetts it was reported that some 25,000 young people between the ages of fourteen and sixteen were not attending school.⁴⁸⁾

Lazerson and Olneck, and later Tyack, among others, have

pointed out that certain distinctions need to be made. One should distinguish between and among the various immigrant nationalities, and between individuals. One also should distinguish between schools and teachers where prejudice was practised, where immigrants' values were ignored, and where their culture was affirmed and respected. One should also, it seems to this author, recognize the influence that society has on schools and not regard the schools as a cure-all for every social injustice (nor the cause of every social illness). One should also recognize the complexity of the situation as it existed in American society in general and in its schools in particular at that time. In the instance of the schooling of the immigrants between 1890 and 1920 "Americanization" was an important factor. Its implementation was neither totally good nor totally bad. Its discussion calls for balance, precision and accuracy.

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48. *Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Trade Education* (Boston : Wright and Potter, 1906), pp. 18-23.

Frances A. Kellor and Negro Criminality and Educability

The rise of the Progressive Movement during the declining years of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the Twentieth Century has been linked by several historians to the decline of Negro¹ participation in American society. One historian has gone so far as to claim that the Progressive Movement was "... unmistakably caught up in the powerful tide of racism," that contributed to the suppression of the Negro.² Dewey Grantham tempers this position a bit by viewing the progressive attitude toward the Negro as passive rather than actively for or against him. As Grantham states, "... Despite the comprehensive nature of their proposed reforms, American liberals of the Progressive era gave little attention to the Negro, which all agreed represented one of the nation's social and political problems ... [It was the Progressives' belief that] ... if the Negro could make his way on the economic front, political and civil rights would take care of themselves."³ An additional view of progressivism and its response to the Negro is offered by Gilbert Osofsky. Osofsky saw the Progressive Movement in its national political phase as largely anti-Negro in its position due to the limited political power that Negroes possessed. "If, however, one includes urban social workers and industrial and municipal reforms in his definition of Progressivism there was a serious, positive and hopeful interest expressed in Negro welfare by the Progressive Movement."⁴ It is within this interpretation and that of Grantham that Frances Kellor's efforts in response to the problems of the Negro should be examined.

Frances Kellor was a Cornell Law School graduate, who had entered the University of Chicago in 1898 to pursue graduate work in sociology and economics. Her initial involvement in the exploration of the "Negro Problem" was part of a larger study

that she pursued as a graduate student at the University of Chicago into the nature of female criminality. Under the tutelage of the eminent sociologists, Albion Small and Charles R. Henderson, Kellor proposed to do a detailed study in criminology and penal reform utilizing the tools of the then fledgling sciences of sociology and psychology. Unfortunately, much of what she discovered was submerged in her largely directionless book, *Experimental Sociology*. The principle findings had, however, appeared in various journals and magazines between 1898 and 1901. Most important for the purposes of this paper are the articles appearing in the *Arena* in 1901, called "The Criminal Negro".

Previous to this time very few major sociological studies of the Negro had been written other than W. E. B. DuBois' *Philadelphia Negro*. Far more numerous were the conservative social Darwinist tracts that attempted to prove the innate inferiority of the Negro. Since most of these studies had cited the Negro's rising criminality as the rationale for their position, it is important to examine several of these articles before exploring Kellor's study.

From the end of Reconstruction, the dominant rationalization for keeping the Negro in an inferior position centered on his supposed innate criminality and immorality. Magazines, journals, and books bristled with statistics, opinions, and observations that "proved" that the Negro could never fully be a part of American society. Typical of the more "scientific" examinations of this problem was Cesare Lombroso's article, "Why Homicide Has Increased in the United States". Lombroso, the noted Italian criminologist whose views on the inherent aspects of crime were increasingly being challenged, sought to explain why the homicide rates in the United States were increasing while those in Western Europe were decreasing. One of his primary conclusions was that the major cause of homicide in the United States was "... the vast number of colored people in that country."⁵ Without the Negro violent crime in the United States would be comparable to the levels recorded in Europe. Lombroso conceded that the incidence of Negro crime could in part be explained by "... the prejudice against the negro [sic], especially in the Southern states ...",⁶ but the greatest obstacle to the Negro becoming a law-

abiding citizen was :

... the fact that there remain latent within him the primitive instincts of the savage ; for notwithstanding that the garb and the habits of the white man may have given him a veneer of modern civilization, he is still too often indifferent to and careless of the lives of others ; and he betrays that lack of the sentiment of pity, commonly observed among savage races, which causes them to regard homicide as a mere incident, and as glorious in case it is the outcome of revenge.⁷

Lombroso concluded that the only solution for remedying this problem was either the massive deportation of the Negro or his general exclusion from concentrated population centers.

A very similar article from a native source was that written by John Roach Straton, a professor at Mercer University in Georgia. Straton questioned whether education could solve the "race problem", a merely rhetorical position, for he immediately followed it by a second question as to what were the causes which prevented education from producing the "desired advance" in the Negro. Straton's position and the evidence he used to support it would be reiterated in article after article to support the segregationist and separatist stance so it is worthwhile to examine his views in depth in relationship to Kellor's findings a year later.

Straton wasted little time in concluding that the education of the Negro up to that point was useless in solving the race problem. He later justified this conclusion by pointing out that the Negro, kept illiterate during his enslavement, was "... not more criminal than other men."⁸ Once the war had concluded and the Negro had begun to become educated, he became more criminal and immoral. Using the United States Census for 1870, 1880 and 1890 (documents whose validity would later be put in question by other researchers), Straton found that Negro criminality had increased by 25% between 1870 and 1880 while illiteracy decreased by 10%. Thus in the twenty-five years since emancipation, the Negro, "... though constituting less than twelve per cent of the population of this country, furnished thirty per cent of all the crimes of the country ... [and] this in face of the fact that over \$ 100,000,000 had been spent on their education in twenty-five years [this averages out to something less than one dollar per year per Negro] and that illiteracy among them had decreased by forty-

two per cent.”⁹

To further support his contention that education did not inhibit Negro criminality but in fact enhanced it, Straton turned his attention to the North where he found that, “... despite the advantageous conditions, there are almost three times as many [Negro] criminals as those of the South, though they are also about three times as well educated.”¹⁰ To justify his generalization he made a statistical comparison between selected states in the South and the North :

In the three Southern States [Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina], where the negro [sic] has made the least advance, and where, according to all our accepted standards (education, worldly condition, etc.), his status is the worst, he furnishes but 1,600 criminals to the million of his population : whereas, in the North Atlantic States, where his condition, according to our standards, is the best, he furnishes 7,547 criminals to the million of his population. The illiteracy of the Negro in the states where he furnishes only 1,600 criminals to the million of his population is 65·70 per cent : while his illiteracy in the North where he furnishes 7,547 to the million, is only 21·71 per cent.”¹¹

On top of all this statistical “evidence” Straton further compounded his case against educating the Negro by claiming that the literacy rate for the Negro criminal was 46% while that for the race as a whole was only 42%. After stressing these correlations between literacy and crime, Straton’s disclaimer seems ludicrous when he states, “Education may not be the cause of these evils, as some go so far as to claim ; but the facts seem to warrant the conclusion that it is not checking them and therefore is not solving the problem.”¹²

Straton concluded his article in a paternalistic vein, fearing that allowing the Negro to participate in the superior Anglo-Saxon culture was causing the elimination of the Negro race. Sympathetic with the efforts of Booker T. Washington to vocationally adapt the Negro to American society, he questioned whether such efforts would eliminate the ills that had taken their toll of the Negro or would solve the immediate ethical problems of the Negro’s criminality and immorality. Employing a Social Darwinist stance, Straton contended :

The system in which [the Anglo-Saxon] now dwells is the logical outcome of all that has gone before, and consequently the white man of today is thoroughly suited to his environment. Now, it is reasonable to think that, since Anglo-Saxon civilization is thus the culmination of a series of steps, all the steps must be taken [by the Negro] before it can safely be reached Picked individuals, strengthened often in mental vigor by infusions of white blood, may grow rapidly; but the evolution of the race comes slowly—a part of each new element of strength being transmitted by the laws of heredity from father to son and on to succeeding generations; and so, slowly and painfully a race advances. It is not a matter of decades but of centuries.¹³

Straton's only other solution to the Negro problem, besides his tentative support of Washington, was to invest a sufficient amount of funds in some other area of the world to make it as attractive to Negro immigration as America had become to Europeans. Such was one side of the intellectual attitude in regard to Negro criminality and his educability when Kellor's article, "The Criminal Negro," first appeared in the *Arena* in 1901.

The primary impetus and model for the scientific study of the Negro had been detailed by W. E. B. DuBois in 1897 at the Winter meeting of the American Association of Political and Social Sciences. Whether Kellor had been influenced by DuBois' paper is open to question but her study of the criminal Negro had certain similarities to DuBois' model. DuBois claimed that the previous studies of Negro problems had been limited by the debate as to whether the problems of the Negro were the result of his ignorance or the prejudice of the white man. He, therefore, felt that the primary criteria for their study should be the pursuit of truth utilizing the best scientific research. To this end" the scope of any social study is first of all limited by the general attitude of public opinion toward truth and truth-seeking."¹⁴ As such it behooved the researcher to avoid "...any attempt to give [his research] a double aim, to make social reform the immediate instead to the mediate object of a search for truth..."¹⁵

DuBois divided the scientific study of the Negro into two

categories "... which though difficult to separate in practice, must for the sake of logical clearness, be kept distinct. They are (a) the study of the Negro as a social group, (b) the study of his peculiar environment."¹⁶ The study of Negro as social group should include: (1) historical study, (2) statistical investigation, (3) anthropological measurement, and (4) sociological interpretation. Under the category of the social environment, Dubois proposed that an attempt "... should be made to isolate and study the tangible phenomena of Negro prejudice in all possible cases; its effect on the Negro's physical development, on his mental acquisitiveness, on his moral and social conditions, as manifested in economic life, in legal sanctions, and in crime and lawlessness."¹⁷ Ironically, DuBois expressed doubt that any effective study of Negro crime or white lawlessness in regard to the Negro could be made for more than a generation, due primarily to the condition of the public mind, "which renders it almost impossible to get at the facts and real conditions. On the other hand, public opinion has in the last decade become sufficiently liberal to open a broad field of investigation to students, and here lies the chance for effective work."¹⁸

Whether Kellor was challenged by DuBois' doubts or influenced by his proposals for studying Negro problems is open to question. Many of the areas of study that DuBois suggested were explored by Kellor as we shall see when we examine her study, "The Criminal Negro," but the warnings that DuBois voiced concerning the separation of the Negro as a social group from the Negro and his social environment and the avoidance of pursuing reform measures in a scientific study went largely unheeded. Kellor's progressive impulse for reform was far stronger than her objective search for scientific truth.

"The Criminal Negro" centered on four major conclusions: (1) Of all classes in the United States, the Southern Negro was the most disadvantaged; (2) The primary function of Southern penal institutions were the detention of criminals and the production of State revenue; (3) From the limited number of tests and measurements conducted on Negro prisoners, it did not appear that there were any innate physical or mental conditions that would limit the Negro's education or development; and (4) The social and physical environments of the South, rather than any innate

flaw in the Negro, were conducive to the commission of crime. These conclusions were reached by Kellor's examination of prisons and prisoners in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. In addition to the tests and measurements conducted on some ninety odd female prisoners and on a comparable number of non-criminal subjects, Kellor also examined the backgrounds of her criminal subjects. Finally, she explored the condition of the Negro in the South, "...socially, economically, politically, educationally, and morally—all with reference to criminality. This includes a study of the Southern white man's attitude, and the position of the negro [sic] woman and child."¹⁹

The basis for Kellor's first conclusion was constructed from a number of environmental observations that she made while collecting data. She found that neither the climate nor the soil provided any incentive to "..... develop thrift and forethought,"²⁰ but were far more conducive to indolence and idleness. Only the urban centers afforded any respite from the debilitating effects of this environment, but the opportunity for the Negro to seek employment in the city was severely limited by his lack of marketable skills and the desire of the white man to keep the Negro involved in agriculture. The Negro farm laborer, by remaining in this condition, was thus more comparable to the unskilled laborers of the North than to the Northern farmer. His only hope in improving his condition if he was to remain on the land would be to secure "..... that training which will take him out of the class of unskilled labor and put him in a position to attain the interests and success of the small farmer in the North."²¹

To Kellor this appeared unlikely if he continued to receive the meager and inadequate training provided in his home, schools, and churches. The home life of the Negro families that Kellor visited appeared comparable to that of the infamous Jukes family, particularly the crowded, unsanitary conditions of most dwellings. Sympathizing with the mother who had "..... five to fifteen [youngsters] to be trained, disciplined, and taught,"²² she railed at the white Southerners who were only interested in the Negro child during slavery when he had cash value. "Now all the knowledge and means required for such care devolve upon parents that have had but little preparation. The child has no labor value

now, for the adult market is often over-stocked."²³

The schools of the South also came in for their share of Kellor's vitriol. Education had not failed; the system had failed in both quality and quantity "..... to enlighten and inform the negro."

The educational system gives so much knowledge of facts, while the moral and sympathetic sensibilities, the perceptions of domestic, social, and political life, in relation to the negro himself, are neglected I am not opposing higher education [for the negro]; I am speaking for the mass of the race and asking for an extension of time and a rationalizing of the studies in the common schools.²⁴

What this rationalizing encompassed was an educational program more closely linked to the thinking of Booker T. Washington than John Dewey. It was Kellor, the pragmatist, in its most utilitarian and Social Darwinist sense, that stated:

The negro in many instances is being fitted for vocations in which there is but little opportunity for him. Agricultural and industrial cras precede those of commerce and professions. The negro cannot omit these; simply because he is transplanted in the middle of a race that has experienced them. They were essential in developing that race.²⁵

The Negro church in the South, Kellor saw as providing very little moral or practical instruction to assist him in his development. Primarily created during slavery to keep the Negro contented with his lot, it failed to evolve to a point of meeting the needs of the freed man, still emphasizing the irrational and the better life to be attained in some future world. "Practical Christianity is known only to the few. [The Negro's] services, sermons, and prayers are intended to arouse sentiment and superstitions, but not thought resulting in improved actions."²⁶ Surprisingly, the Eighth Conference for the Study of Negro Problems in 1903, although not as openly hostile to the work of the Negro Church as Kellor, would pass a resolution for the:

... strengthening of religious effort and moral inspiration among the masses of the Negro people ... [recognizing that the Negro people were] passing through that critical period of religious evolution when the low moral and intellectual

standards of the past and the curious custom of emotional fervor [were] no longer attracting the young and ought in justice to repel the intelligent and the good.²⁷

Kellor's legal background coupled with her study under Charles R. Henderson, the noted American penalogist, probably fitted her best for drawing her second conclusion about the Southern penal system. Noting the unequal numbers and treatment of Negroes incarcerated in Southern prisons in comparison to that of whites, she illustrated the prejudicial attitude she found by recounting an anecdote told to her by a Southern prison official: "... If two white men quarrel and one *murders* the other, we imprison the culprit, and in due season pardon him; if a white man kills a negro, we let him off; if a negro murders a white man, we like as not lynch him; if a negro kills a negro we imprison him."²⁸ In all of the prisons Kellor visited "... the emphasis [was] laid upon hard labor ... from sunrise to sunset, with only time out for meals ... and punishment."²⁹ All institutions and criminals were to be self-supporting "... with the revenues ending up in the general State fund."³⁰ (Mississippi during this period had annually realized between \$30,000 to \$100,000 from its prisons while Louisiana's income averaged \$50,000 per year). In none of the states were juvenile reformatories functioning and, "the age of criminal intent [seemed] to be less definite with reference to negroes, for in my investigations I saw no white children."³¹

Each of the states had some form of convict farm system where "... the state owns or leases the land and works its own convicts."³² The prisoners under this system were disciplined by whipping and solitary confinement and guarded by armed guards in all states except Louisiana. Still, during this period, there was an average of fifty escapes per year.

In almost all the states studied, a body of "good time laws" existed which reduced the prisoner's sentence dependent upon his good behavior. Kellor discovered, however, that because of the revenue producing nature of the Southern penal systems, pardons or releases were oft times delayed so that a sufficient number of convicts would be available for the harvest or planting season. Kellor concluded that in comparison to its Northern counterparts, the Southern penal system was highly inadequate and outdated.

Whether this area of Kellor's study "... resulted in basic

changes [in Southern penal systems] in many states,"³³ as Parris and Brooks state is questionable. Jane Zimmerman's "The Penal Reform Movement in the South during the Progressive Era, 1890-1917" makes no mention of Kellor's work but does point out that the reforms in penology in the South during this period "... were the natural outgrowth of forces that had been playing on penological developments throughout the more progressive penological trends of the North and West and from a penological point of view [the South] had come back into the Union."³⁴ From this standpoint it appears that Kellor's effort was just one of many such analyses that helped create a "... new philosophy of reformatory penology from which the reforms of the future [in the South] were to come."³⁵

Kellor's third conclusion concerning the educability and development of the Negro was by far one of the most controversial issues of the period. Although Straton's position presented earlier in this paper was probably extreme, the more liberal elements of the Southern Education Movement had serious doubts about the "... scientific research [that later indicated] that group differences in innate intelligence and educability, if they exist[ed] at all, [were] insignificant as compared with individual differences and environmental influences."³⁶ Kellor, who admitted that her sample was far too small to draw any definite conclusions, appeared convinced that the Negro from her tests and measurements was neither physically nor psychologically hampered in making an adjustment to the demands of modern society.

In the test of the physical senses the negroes are not more defective than the same class among the whites. The results tend to show that among the negroes tested the defects are not such as to prevent successful functionings, and they do not equal the degree necessary for degeneracy. Defects in color discrimination, reading, smell, and taste involve a consideration of social factors for their explanation. Where individuals possess senses that are even fairly good, there are opened many avenues of appeal to the higher faculties ...³⁷

The psychological tests suggest ways in individuals and classes can be studied more accurately, and show that, while the criminal class is probably inferior to the educated class, the negro criminals fall so nearly within the same range that

many theories of their limitations must have some doubt cast over them. The results of these tests are high or low, very much in proportion to the degree and kind of training and culture. There are not defects among the negroes which show idiocy or degeneracy so much as they show diverted and underdeveloped capabilities. The perspective and range of ideas of the negroes are very narrow, as is also knowledge of the principle of adjustment to social forces; but nowhere do these results show that they have had either the length of time or opportunity required for these. The facility with which they comprehended what was required in the tests shows them to be capable of instruction.³⁸

Kellor's final conclusion, interwoven with elements from her other conclusions, attempted to illustrate that the environmental conditions of the South were conducive toward the existence of Negro crime. She attacked those like Lombroso and Straton who had viewed the Negro's increased criminality as a product of his innate limitations rather than examining the milieu in which these problems arose. The Negro, as Kellor saw him, had been ill-prepared educationally, economically, and socially to cope with his sudden release from bondage. Therefore it should be "... a matter of no surprise [that crime increased] because increased freedom of an ignorant people invariably means increased violations of the law. [Secondly], ... acts sanctioned in slavery, as adultery and small thefts, were not then considered as crimes."³⁹ Thirdly, it was impossible to say that Negro criminality had increased since the time of slavery because nearly all offenses were dealt with by the individual slave holder and had not been generally recorded. Finally, the Southern legal system had increased the penalties for numerous crimes and passed laws in other areas that more directly affected the Negro. "For these reasons increase of crimes does not mean deterioration of the race, but is one phase of its attempt to meet new conditions and external forces."⁴⁰

Consequently, although Negro criminality had shown a higher increase in the North as a result of the limited preparation of the Negro and intense competition in the highly industrial, urban society,

... it is impossible to estimate the persistency of racial traits

or of the limitations, mental or physical, imposed by racial development, until a parallel environment must be shown to be of such a nature that it offers every opportunity for development and improvement. In no phase of the negroes' life—domestic, social, industrial, political, or religious—does this appear to be the case.⁴¹

Unfortunately, such an environment did not exist in 1901, even in the North.

Probably, the most telling criticism that could be levelled at Frances Kellor were the words written in 1906 by Richard R. Wright, Jr., the Negro sociologist:

... If sociology has been unfortunate in any particular with regard to its method, it has certainly been quite unfortunate, especially at the hands of the so-called practical sociologist, in giving far too large a place to pathological conditions. This has especially been true in studying the negroes [sic]. Crime, disease and degeneracy do have a place, but they have only a very small place in determining the course of social development as a whole or of a particular group. It should never be forgotten by the social student that the normal is more important than the abnormal and especially when the abnormal is a very small percentage of the whole.⁴²

Thomas F. Gasset, nearly sixty years later, however, has pointed out in his study of American racism that, "... most of the people who wrote about Negroes [between 1880 and 1920] were firmly in the grip of the idea that intelligence and temperament [were] racially determined and unalterable ..."⁴³ Certainly Kellor's efforts in her study could not be faulted in this regard. More properly they can be viewed as Osofsky saw them, "... a serious, positive and hopeful interest ... in Negro welfare."⁴⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. The term "Negro" will be used throughout the paper for the sake of consistency. See: Lerone Bennett, Jr. "What's in a Name?" *Etc.* XXVI (December, 1969), pp. 399-412, and Rayford W. Logan. *The Negro in American Life and Thought*, (New York: Dial 1954).
2. David W. Southern. *The Malignant Heritage*, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1968), p. 1.

3. Dewey Grantham, Jr. "The Progressive Movement and the Negro," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LIV (October, 1955), p. 461 and 476.
4. Gilbert Osofsky. "Progressivism and the Negro: New York, 1900-1915", *American Quarterly*, XVI (Summer, 1964), p. 154.
5. Cesare Lombroso. "Why Homicide Has Increased in the United States," *North American Review*, CLXV (December, 1897), p. 647.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 647.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 647.
8. John R. Straton. "Will Education Solve the Race Problem?," *North American Review*, CLXX (May, 1900), p. 786.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 786-787.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 789.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 789-790.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 791.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 797 and 798.
14. W. E. B. DuBois, "The Study of Negro Problems," *Annals of the American Academy*, XI (May, 1898), p. 16.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 17-18.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
19. Frances A. Kellor. "The Criminal Negro," *Arena* XXV-VI (January, 1901) p. 63.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 63 (Jan)
21. *Ibid.*, p. 68 (Jan)
22. *Ibid.*, p. 191 (Feb)
23. *Ibid.*, p. 191 (Feb)
24. *Ibid.*, p. 194 (Feb)
25. *Ibid.*, p. 193 (Feb)
26. *Ibid.*, p. 196 (Feb)
27. W. E. B. DuBois, ed. *Atlanta University Publications* II, (New York, Octagon Books, 1968), p. 132.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 420 (April)
29. *Ibid.*, p. 421 (April)
30. *Ibid.*, p. 421 (April)
31. *Ibid.*, p. 422 (April)
32. *Ibid.*, p. 422 (April)
33. Guichard Parris and Lester Brooks, *Blacks in the City*, (Boston: Little, Brown: & Co., 1971), p. 5.
34. Jane Zimmerman, "The Penal Reform Movement in the South during the Progressive Era, 1890-1917", *Journal of Southern History*, XVII

(November, 1951), p. 492.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 492.

36. Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, (New York ; Atheneum, 1968), p. XVI-XVII.

37. Kellor, *op. cit.*, p. 520 (May)

38. *Ibid.*, p. 66 (Nov)

39. *Ibid.*, p. 526 (Nov)

40. *Ibid.*, p. 526 (Nov)

41. *Ibid.*, p. 527 (Nov)

42. Richard R. Wright, "The Migration of Negroes to the North " *Annals of the American Academy*, XXVII (May, 1906), p. 112.

43. Thomas F. Gassett, *Race : The History of an Idea in America*, (Dallas : Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), p. 286.

44. Osofsky, p. 154.

Cultural Collision in Urban Schools

THE URBAN SCENE

The evolving character of urban education is directly attributable to the demographic changes within metropolitan areas wrought by the process of urbanization. A white exodus to suburbia has been accompanied by a continuous black trek to established urban centers. On the national level the differential patterns of movement among black and white Americans persist unabatedly. Blacks are moving to the North and into the older cities; whites are "fleeing" to the suburbs or the newly emerging cities of the Southwest. Demographic flux superimposed upon a relatively stable racially and socioeconomically based stratification system has been responsible for the transformation of urban education into a "problem" of increasing magnitude. Consequently the contemporary urban school may be paradigmatically described in strictly racial terms. The faculty and administration are predominantly white; the student population is predominantly black.

The resultant interaction between the educational institutions and their legislatively mandated clientele is prevalently described as conflict, not education. The conflict, regardless of its mode of expression, arises from the feelings of estrangement and alienation of teachers and students toward each other. Both groups are intensely aware of the high salience of their racial statuses and the relative values attached thereto by American cultural history. On the societal level the ascribed status of race has functioned to the benefit of whites and to the detriment of blacks. Public schools in black urban neighborhoods have become sites of the clash between the dominant and the subordinate cultures. One's cultural heritage pervades conscious and unconscious attitudes and perceptual tendencies. As they share the hallways between classes, teachers and students share agency in "... the fundamental conflict that exists between the established cultural order of

the society, and that of the local community which the students represent."¹ This, then, is the nature of the conflict in urban schools; to many the conflict explains the educational "failure" of black youth.

The difficulties experienced by black children in American schools have been variously explained by social pathology, genetic inferiority, and cultural deficiency theories. The positing of a black culture as an entity separate from the mainstream culture, but of *equal* validity, is a recent phenomenon. This perspective, however, has neither been accorded universal acceptance, nor has it altered the quotidian practices of urban education. One witnesses a proliferation of scholarly harangues "proving" that the most legitimate American subculture is either lower class and socioeconomic in origin, or black and racial in origin. Scrutiny of these two proffered subcultures—lower class and black—reveals a virtual identity between their most salient characteristics. They are ostensibly distinguished from and counterpointed to the mainstream cultures by three "realities". Both the lower class and black cultures have been depicted as exhibiting an orientation to the present, relative instability of family units, and a higher incidence of physical rather than verbal problem-solving behavior. This latter trait is evidenced primarily in child-rearing practices and the frequency of interpersonal violence. The disproportionate representation of blacks in the lower socioeconomic classes and the salience of race to the urban education "problem" are legitimate criteria for emphasizing the role of black culture in the conflict occurring in the aforementioned paradigmatic urban school. This is quite simply an acknowledgement of the phenomenological fact that the connotative dimension of the phrase "urban education" has wholly usurped its denotative dimension. The subject indicated is universally regarded as the problems experienced within public schools in predominantly black urban neighborhoods.

Stressing the pertinence of a black culture is an attempt to overcome the fragmentation of basic social conditions that results from overly analytic taxonomies which semantically distinguish slum from ghetto and black from low SES. This inordinately scientific mode of perception obscures essence by focusing upon observable idiosyncratic epiphenomena. The contention that a black lower class culture typifies the urban American situation is strongly supported by social area analysis. The work of Wendell

Bell has amply demonstrated that heterogeneity exists at the metropolitan level, while specific urban neighborhoods are characterized by homogeneity—the similarity of members. Nowhere is this fact more glaringly apparent than in the student populations of schools in the largest urban centers. Social area analysis, a pragmatic application of mathematical set theory, has vividly established the convergence and overlapping of socioeconomic and racial statuses. Jacquelyne Johnson claims that race must be added to the traditional criteria of income, occupation, and education to produce a meaningful estimation of an individual's social status.² Race has historically functioned as a prime determinant of the American stratification system. Ignoring its potency will allow it to endure in stark contrast to the manifest goals of public education. Without attempting to reduce the complexity of the American social order to a simplistic dichotomy, I assert, nonetheless, that recognition of its dichotomous aspects facilitates assessment of the condition of urban education. In *Soulside* Ulf Hannerz states that "... the ghetto is not the most clearcut possible example of cultural difference."³ Its values and behaviors, however, are easily differentiated from the values transmitted by the mainstream schools and the behaviors displayed by school officials.

CULTURAL VALUES—NEIGHBORHOOD AND SCHOOL

The ghetto dwellers have not adjusted their perspective so as to take ghetto condition ... as a satisfactory state of affairs. Their understanding of its human consequences differs from that of outsiders, but the standards of what life ought to be like ... are mainstream standards.⁴

Success is highly valued in the neighborhood and the school. Socialization into the culture of the neighborhood, however, entails the acquisition of traits that are dysfunctional in the school despite their authenticity. This is most vividly evidenced in the case of language development. The language of black children differs from standard English, and is subsequently deemed inferior by educators socialized into the mainstream culture. Such an evaluation contradicts the results of linguistic and anthropological research which have established that black children "... speak a well-formed, highly developed language system that is simply different from standard English."⁵ When differences are evaluated qualitatively, however, the effect is that

speaking black English initially stigmatizes the student and diminishes, perhaps precludes, his chances for success in an institutional arena dominated by speakers of standard English.

While the school maintains that its goal is the optimal achievement of each student, teacher insensitivity to cultural differences can have profoundly debilitating ramifications for the students receiving its impact.

The consequence is often a stalemate in which the teacher is frustrated and generalizes her experience through invidious stereotypes, and the students withdraw or become disengaged from the objectives of the educational system.⁶

What unfolds in the schools is a parody of the purpose of education. The value of success is not abandoned, but the ends are repetitively presented without delineation of the means by which they may be achieved. In this manner schools fail to compensate for a crucial environmental discontinuity; they perpetuate the typical ghetto disjuncture between the transmission of the means and ends requisite to attaining mainstream values. The consequence for a student from a black neighborhood is poignantly described in the following statement.

Then you go to those schools, and the teachers, they looks down on you, and makes you think you has done something wrong for being born. They shout and makes faces, and they treat you like dirt and then tell you to be a doctor or a lawyer; if you just go to the library and stay in school and be neat, thats all it takes.⁷

In the neighborhood the young black's desire for success attaches itself to intrinsic models. Immersion in the neighborhood also grants him access to knowledge regarding the means to the attainment of success. There are pimps, pushers, bootleggers, and possibly some professional athletes or entertainers whose success is reflected in their attire and material possessions. The paths they followed to reach their present statuses are rendered via conversation. The role-modeling behavior of the black adolescent whose goal is to become a pimp mirrors that of the suburban white adolescent whose goal is to become a lawyer. Each youth identifies a model that is environmentally intrinsic and successful, and initiates an appropriate course of action in pursuit of his goal. Recently significant criticism has been levied upon the

national media for reinforcing certain ghetto-specific black statuses. In addition, cognizant black adults have lambasted the glorification of black athletes and entertainers as being detrimental to black youth achievement because of the scarcity of positions available. Yet in the ghetto the dilemma persists. A black youth who aspires to a status that is extrinsic to his neighborhood is ultimately frustrated and disillusioned.

Man, when I was a kid, I used to have dreams that maybe I'd be a scientist and discover all kinds of things. But they were only dreams there couldn't be anything real about them. I've never seen a scientist; I don't understand anything about them; there aren't any scientists or anyone else who has a big job on my block so I haven't got the least idea of what they're like these things are so far above us they aren't real.⁸

The passage cited above intensely conveys the impact of limited horizons and limited rational aspirations, omnipresent ghetto-specific conditions noted by Kenneth Clark in *Dark Ghetto*.

For adolescents the value of success is most prevalently sought among peers. There exists great similarity between the traits associated with peer group success for black and white males. The value of toughness manifested in gangs reflects the same value expressed in athletic participation among suburban mainstream youth. In addition, "smartness" is a focal concern of ghetto youth; its correlate is intelligence among white adolescents. Intelligence is valued among the latter as a function of minimal effort.⁹ Thusly, both natural mental acumen and physical prowess are prime components of esteemed adolescent males in both black urban and white suburban milieus. Despite the value congruence existing between the neighborhood and school cultures, extreme dissimilarity exists among the models of success respectively presented. Further, the neighborhood provides access to the means to eventual achievement; means that are either absent or absurdly simplified within the schools.

SOCIAL INTERACTION—NEIGHBORHOOD AND SCHOOL

The differential qualities of social interaction that typify urban neighborhoods and their schools are best described à la Talcott Parsons as "rural" and "urban" respectively. Social interaction in the neighborhood is "rural" in its affective con-

tent. It is open and warm—interaction for its own sake. It is engaging and the meaningful role relationships are diffuse. Contrastingly, social interaction in the school is “urban” in its affective neutrality and emphasis upon rationality. The interactive pattern is determined by the assumption that the participants—students and teachers—are involved in goal oriented behavior. Subsequently specific role relationships pertain and have a concomitant distancing effect.

From the work of Ulf Mannerz (*Soulside*) and Elliot Liebow (*Tally's Corner*), one distills a clear picture of social interaction in the ghetto neighborhood. The interactions among “street families” and “street-corner men” in both studies is most accurately described as conviviality, pure sociability. In the men's own words, they converse solely for the pleasure inherent in the interaction. The affective content is glaringly apparent in the manner and rapidity with which acquaintances become friends and are lauded and derided compassionately. The diffusion of role-relationships is evidenced by the fact that any two individuals may be friends, coworkers, and kin. Such roles are not static, however, and despite minor fluctuations both individuals will continually frequent the same corner, barring excessively violent breaks of relationships.

Parsons' “rural” model is exemplified still further in ghetto neighborhood interaction. Ascribed statuses are prime determinants of who interacts with whom. The continuous participants in streetcorner life are all males, primarily between the ages of 20 and 45. They share the experiences of unemployment, broken homes, and the rural South. With virtual unanimity they attribute their present circumstances (residentially, maritally, and financially) to fate; there is a pervasive sense of lack of control over their lives. Neighborhood “swingers” are young adults (under 30) who are single and employed. Membership in this group is open to both sexes, but restricted to a limited portion of the age spectrum. Moderate financial resources are also required to enable one to participate in the fast-paced night life. The typical black neighborhood also contains a distinct minority of stable nuclear families detached from the sex and age-graded interaction matrix. As identifiable entities, black neighborhoods exhibit extreme conformity to Parsons' rural model: Social interaction is affective; role-relationships are diffuse; and the pattern

of social interaction is determined by the ascribed statuses of age and sex.

Social interaction in the school is of a different order. The interaction is rigidly rooted in specific role-relationships within a hierarchical structure. Germane statuses are student, teacher, and administrator. Among the teachers, attention to ascribed statuses of race and sex is consciously minimized; they are teachers first and foremost, buffeted by the rowdiness of the students and demands of the administrators. The resultant distancing creates chasms of disdain above and below. The teachers are definitely involved in goal oriented behavior. The students, however, refuse to play the education game. The consequence is goal substitution; the teachers substitute the maintenance of order for the education of children as their primary goal. Thusly, all teacher plans and behaviors become focused upon discipline. Such a stance by the faculty neglects the students but effectively placates administrators for whom avoidance of notoriety is the measure of success. There is clearly no possibility for affective involvement within the constraints of our potentially volatile urban schools. Student, teacher, and administrator, alike, have been accused of "failure" and indicted for myriad causal misdeeds by academe, the news media, and private and public *ad hoc* committees.

Affective interaction is precluded and role-relationships are specific in schools. Teachers and administrators have abandoned the manifest function of education and transferred their efforts to the pursuit of order—a latent institutional function. The classroom is concomitantly transformed into a field of battle; "... the children define [it] not as a vehicle of education, but as a place where children and teachers destroy each other."¹⁰ Urban education is thusly defined. One source of the conflict is the compulsory juxtaposition of diametrically opposed norms of social interaction.

Emile Durkheim formulated the concept of mechanical solidarity during his consideration of the impact of urbanization upon social interaction. Mechanical solidarity exists within a social group whose members have shared certain life experiences and share expectations of behavior rooted in a sense of similarity. The individuals who combine to form the social group in an urban school are experientially bifurcated. The expectations of behavior

that cross the abyss separating white teachers from black students derive from perceptions of dissimilarity and are stereotypically perpetuated. Each conflict-riddled urban school is a locus of the clash between two groups possessing quite disparate cultural heritages. The white cultural (mainstream) experience is one of progress born out of the Protestant ethic and historically realized by successful achievement in an environment of abundant resources. The most critical black cultural experience has certainly not been matrifocality, soul music, or the South *per se*; it has been pervasive discrimination and subordination whose provenience lies in *de jure* and *de facto* racism which has denied blacks access to the American resources rhetorically offered to all. In contemporary urban schools the perpetrators and the victims of two hundred years of racism collide. The appearance of conflict is not surprising.

If the preceding statements seem to augur a societal Armageddon catalyzed by urban schools, they have missed their mark. To understand the situation one must become attuned to all relevant facts. Racism is an historical fact susceptible to change. In "A Letter From Harlem" James Baldwin expresses the fundamental black yearning quite simply.

Negroes want to be treated like men: a perfectly straightforward statement containing only seven words. People who have mastered Kant, Hegel, Shakespeare, Marx, Freud, and the Bible find this statement utterly impenetrable.¹¹

This basic human desire relegates differences such as skin color, speech, dress, and cultural legacy to the realm of the superficial. Too often, however, it is these differences that receive undue attention and provide the basis for the confusion of "..... basic life chances and actual behavior with basic cultural values and preferences."¹² The error of the past and the present in education has been an application of this illusory equation. When considering the existence of black culture and its role within urban schools, one tenable perspective shifts the gaze of educators. Black culture is not what you see; it's what you don't see. For the urban school to serve its increasing proportions of black students, it must sensitize itself to subliminal values concealed beneath a facade of apparently antithetical behaviors. It is a task to be recognized by all who are committed to the manifest goal of public schools—education.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. D. Lohman, *Cultural Patterns in Urban Schools* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1967), p. 45.
2. J. J. Jackson, "Family Organization and Ideology" in K. S. Miller and R. M. Dreger, *Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States* (New York : Seminar Press, 1973), p. 407.
3. U. Hannerz, *Soulside* (New York : Columbia Univ. Press, 1969), p. 137.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
5. J. C. Baratz, "Language Abilities of Black Americans" in K. S. Miller and R. M. Dreger, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
6. S. T. Kimball, *Culture and the Educative Process* (New York : Teachers College Press, 1974), p. 82.
7. R. Coles, "The Poor Don't Want To Be Middle Class" in H. L. Miller and M. B. Smiley, *Education in the Metropolis* (New York : The Free Press, 1967) p. 203.
8. R. Hammer, "Report From a Spanish Harlem 'Fortress' " in H. L. Miller and M. B. Smiley, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
9. J. S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society* (New York : The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 310.
10. G. E. Levy, *Ghetto School* (New York : Pegasus, 1970), p. 107.
11. J. Baldwin, "A Letter From Harlem : in H. L. Miller and M. B. Smiley, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
12. E. Liebow, *Tally's Corner* (Boston : Little, Brown & Co., 1966), p. 221.

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Education : Red and Brown*

The problem of minorities and minority education has been a continuous one in the United States of America. From the beginning the American colonists were primarily of British origin and it appears to be a peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxons to consider themselves as the majority even though this is or was often counter to the facts. The early colonists came to the New World for many reasons and not the least of their motives was a desire to educate the heathens and teach them the rudiments of the Christian faith. Thus the settlers in New England led by the "Apostle to the Indians," John Eliot early began the process of acculturation of the natives. The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company set forth the main object of the colony, "to win and incite the natives of the country, to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind" as Samuel Eliot Morison tells us in his *Builders of the Bay Colony*. The seal of the Colony contained the cry "Come over and help us," placed in the mouth of an Indian. With good humor Samuel Eliot Morison relates a dialogue between two Indians and members of the General Court. The Indians supposedly indicating a desire to "reverence the God of the English, ... because we see he doth better to the English than other gods do to others."¹ In 1654, John Eliot produced an Indian primer to teach the Indians to read. Eliot also prepared various tracts and translated the Bible into the Indian language of his locale.²

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was not alone in its efforts. Actually the Virginia Colony had entertained high hopes in regard to converting and educating the Indians. The original charter of the Virginia Company also contained references to the need for "propagating of Christain religion to such people, as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and

* This study was partially supported by an Arizona State University Faculty Grant.

worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages ... to human civility and quiet government" One of the plans was to form Henrico College for this very purpose but the plans were abortive.³ The great educational theorist of the early seventeenth century, John Brinsley, wrote a plan of education for this very purpose entitled *A Consolation for Our Grammar Schools* (1622). In Pennsylvania, Anthony Benezet labored long and mightily for this purpose with Negroes and Indians. Benjamin Franklin introduced another idea which was to become part and parcel of the American scene, the fear of the foreigner. He was much concerned that the German settlers would become an alien force in Pennsylvania and advocated education in the English language for them. Nowhere were any suggestions that the minorities might enrich American life and should be allowed to continue their own culture and language.

When the American public school system came into being, its purpose was to Americanize the immigrants. Cultural pluralism was not yet in evidence. The American schools would make everyone Americans. Some resisted and the tendency of bypassing the efforts of the Protestant-dominated American school began to emerge. Roman Catholics very early began to set up their own schools.⁴ Even earlier there had been purely religious schools, but this was the rule rather than the exception. It was with the development of the American Common School that the tendency we are referring to emerged. To speak of public schools as we understand them today is an anachronism.

REDISCOVERY OF OLDER GROUPS

Although for a time the emphasis shifted to the newer immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe as the minority groups the schools were most concerned with, it was only a matter of degree for the schools have always been concerned with both the newer minorities and the minorities that were at one time majorities, the Indians and Mexicans. We have seen that great efforts were made to do something about the Indians at the onset of colonization but that the efforts failed. For a long time this group was neglected. However, in recent years the Indians and the Mexican-Americans have come in for renewed concern. They and the Negroes are part of the rediscovered minorities.

The story of the Indian well illustrates this process of redis-

covery. Oddly enough the early provisions for Indian education were associated with the colleges. The example of the abortive Henrico College has been noted. Harvard also tried its hand and Dartmouth College began as an Indian school founded by Eleazer Wheelock in 1754. The missionaries also played a part in the education of Indians as they traversed the colonies teaching the Indian to read so he might become familiar with the Bible. Since the individual colonies controlled Indian Affairs, the main unifying thread was the missionary activities.

During the American Revolution, the Continental Congresses adopted a policy of neutralization aimed at preventing the tribes from uniting with the British forces. In implementing this policy, the Congresses adopted a plan of providing ministers and teachers for certain tribes and appointing a five-member committee on Indian Affairs. The United States government first provided for the education of Indians in 1775 when the Congress voted to subsidize the education of several Indian students severed from sources of support at Wheelock's academy. The subsidy was a strategic move to prevent untoward consequences from ensuing if the Indians were not helped.⁵

Treatment of the Indians has been divided into four general periods. The first, extending from 1778 to 1871, is known as the Treaty Period. During this period the Indians were regarded as sovereign powers and between 1788 and 1842 some 195 treaties were entered into between the United States and Indian tribes. On March 3, 1871, an act was passed ending Indian independence and establishing them as wards of the United States. The period from 1871 to 1887 is called the Reservation Period. A new period, known as the Allotment Period, began in 1887 with the passage of the Dawes Act. The purpose was to break communal patterns of Indian landholding by encouraging small, freehold farming and in this manner obliterating tribal life. The Dawes Act was disastrous and in 1934 a new period began with the Wheeler-Howard Act which completely reversed the Dawes Act and made it impossible for any individual Indian to own reservation land. Finally in 1953, Congress passed a resolution ending the ward status of Indians.⁶

The first efforts of the federal government toward Indian education were on a tribal rather than general basis and consisted

mainly of instruction in agriculture, mechanical arts, and some academic subjects or the payment of annuities for schools or other educational purposes. In 1819, a Civilization Act was passed which became the basis of federal Indian education. The act provided annual appropriations of \$10,000 to be used for academic teaching for children and vocational training for adults. For more than a half century, the Civilization Act allocated funds to missionary organizations in proportion to the Indian pupils enrolled in their schools. Under President Grant's Peace Policy of 1869, the Indians were segregated onto reservations and the first serious attempts were made to educate them. The day school came into existence— a school house, quarters for a teacher, and a garden tract. Arguments against the day schools sound familiar. They were criticized for teaching only in English and offering a curriculum not adapted to the needs of the pupils.⁷

Around 1880, the reservation boarding school became a popular innovation as an institution to teach pupils how to live, as well as to read and think.⁸ In 1879, the non-reservational boarding school also became an important feature in Indian education, the most famous being the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania. Under this system, a half day of work and a half day of study was employed with the curriculum including academic as well as vocational subjects on the high school level. Another familiar problem was the language barrier. There were no textbooks for beginners and the first text used was Keep's *First Lessons for the Deaf and Dumb*. The general policy of the federal government was to teach the child to speak, read and write English, give him a knowledge of geography and United States history, and instruct him in domestic training.⁹

Not until 1889, did the government first adopt a systematic plan for Indian education when Thomas Morgan, Commissioner of Indians, organized a thirteen point plan, the objective being to convert Indians into American citizens so that they might compete successfully with whites on their own ground and with their own methods.¹⁰ The educational and economic policies of the Allotment Period led to the impoverishment of the Indians and the shattering of their morale. The policy of civilization totally ignored the need of the race to maintain their own cultures. The Merican Report of 1928, called for a reversal of former policy to strengthen the Indian family and social structure, to expand day

schools, and to relate schooling more closely to post school needs of the youth. A radical change in federal policy occurred within six years with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, signaling a new era in educational policy. In the years following the Reorganization Act, new emphasis was given to community schools and boarding schools were devoted mainly to secondary education. An increasing number of Indian children attended public schools due to the passage of the Snyder Act in 1924 granting the Indian United States citizenship and the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 arranging for contracts between state governments for the public education of Indians.¹¹

Inherent in the Reorganization program was the recognition of the validity of the coexistence of Indian cultures with the white culture and the need to revise curricula and textbooks in federal schools. Children were given instruction in their native arts and crafts. Schools were encouraged to relate programs to typical experiences of the children and adults in their own communities, and a bilingual approach was adopted in some areas. The long range objective of Indian supervision was for many years its own termination; and, on August 1, 1953, a formal termination policy was adopted ending their wardship and ushering in an era destined to leave its mark of anger, fear, and suspicion. Implications of the new policy were to transfer responsibility for Indian education to the states as quickly as possible and provide a program for the 38,000 pupils then in federal schools so that they could compete educationally with non-Indians. In 1952, approximately 52,000 Indian children were enrolled in public schools; and in 1960 there were 133,000.¹²

The above excursion into history was to highlight many of the problems minority groups face in the American society. The Indians are a good example of the problems faced by both groups, even though they are distinctive in many respects. With the ushering in of school integration and the poverty programs of the Johnson administration, the forgotten minorities once more came to the fore. The country more than ever became aware of a continuing problem. In spite of a century of experience, there was little known about many of the specific problems and a taking of stock was once more in order. The problem of the socially disadvantaged was still with us and it required, in the minds of many a massive attack. Not all of the minority members were dis-

advantaged; nor could we look at them as being homogeneous, but the fact remained that enough of them shared certain characteristics that it is possible to speak of the minority groups as the socially disadvantaged. It is to these groups and their shared characteristics that we turn.

SOME COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISADVANTAGED MINORITIES

Since 1960 one of the impressive features of American life has been the great concern for the disadvantaged segments of our population. The disadvantaged, too often, have been the minority groups that we have referred to as the old minorities, with one exception the Puerto Ricans. Although there was a great influx of refugees after World War II from many of the Eastern European states, they were not the uneducated peasants of the earlier migrations. For the most part they were well educated and after some initial difficulties they and their children were able to fit in with relative ease to the American culture. It is the old minorities, the Indians, Negroes, and Mexican-Americans that were the disadvantaged.

Achievement.

Much of the research shows that the minorities on the average are poor achievers. The phenomenon known as "the cumulative-deficit phenomenon" figures prominently in the literature. Studies show marked differences in achievement among the non-disadvantaged and the disadvantaged. A 1967 report of the United States Department of Agriculture reported figures of 19 percent and 12 percent of the disadvantaged retarded by at least one year. The first figure referring to rural youth and the second to urban.¹³ The American Indians are often referred to as the most deprived members of our society. Research consistently shows a schooling gap. An early study by Madison Coombs and others entitled *The Indian Child Goes to School* (1958) showed that the Indian children compared favorably with the white children in the fourth grade but the differences became less favorable in the upper grades and in high school. Several studies have shown that the Indian child is almost equal in achievement to white children in the early years but falls progressively behind as he moves through the school years. The greatest gap comes in the later years confirming the study of Coombs. Another interesting

feature of the Coombs study was the data regarding the Navajo. The Navajo over twenty five years of age are, for all practical purposes, devoid of schooling. The best estimate is about the second-grade level. Navajo children enrolled in public schools are on the average severely retarded. Some 9,751 children analyzed by Coombs and his co-workers in 1957 were reported to be at the grade level of achievement in only six percent of the cases, forty percent were retarded at least one year, and fifty-four percent were retarded two or more years.¹⁴

Attrition.

The dropout rate among American Indians supports the evidence of the cumulative-deficit phenomenon. The Indian child very often begins to experience scholastic and personal problems in the secondary school. Attrition then appears. One study showed the national dropout rate for the Indian students from the eighth to the twelfth grade as 60 percent.¹⁵ Since this is a 1967 report, it would seem to be safe to generalize that the Indian student dropout figure is a national disgrace.

Much of the same picture emerges when we examine data concerning the Mexican-American. Coleman's study shows that the Mexican-American child does not do well when compared to the Anglo majority. In the first grade the Mexican-Americans are behind the Indians and the Anglo group.¹⁶ In an Arizona State University study, the children studied were behind their contemporaries in academic achievement by the time they reached the second grade. The median performances were roughly one standard deviation below the mean. By the fourth grade the children's median grade points on reading tests were 1.5 grade points below the norm.¹⁷ A later study by Palomares and Cummins (1968) found similar conditions existing within a small town Mexican-American population. There was a progressive drop in achievement throughout the school years. The Mexican-American students were at the norms in achievement in the first grade but one grade behind by the sixth grade.¹⁸ The attrition rate of Mexican-Americans is also very high. Figures from the 1960 census based on Spanish surnames in five Southwestern States place the total years of schooling for this group at a low figure. The groups were differentiated by states and by age. The figures are based on individuals fourteen years old and over and are also broken down by sex. Male Mexican-Americans showed

a total of 8·9 years of schooling on the average in California to a low of 6·2 in Texas. These figures are for males. The female Mexican-American averaged slightly higher in years of schooling completed from a high of 9·2 in California to 6·1 in Texas.¹⁹ It is obvious that the dropout rate is high.

Intelligence.

The matter of intelligence tests is once more a center of controversy. The entire problem appears to have been reopened by Arthur Jensen in an extended article appearing in the *Harvard Educational Review* (1969).²⁰ This is not the place to review the controversy. What intelligence tests really test is the point at issue for most people. The question of nature and nurture is an important problem but the issue of what the tests test has more bearing on the present problem. The greatest point of agreement among scholars is that they measure something related to schooling. The whole question of intelligence has been undergoing an extensive re-examination in recent years. The advent of anti-poverty programs and the pressing of education into the anti-poverty battle makes the question of intelligence, its nature, constancy, the effects of poverty and cultural deprivation and efforts to counteract these effects once more of crucial importance. In a very recent review of the research and data regarding intelligence and IQ change at the lower end of the scale, Stein and Susser come to some interesting conclusions regarding the whole matter. They tend to support a number of specific propositions with various degrees of firmness. They believe there is "good evidence of change in IQ in both individuals and groups through time."²¹ In other words, the constancy of IQ is questionable in these populations. Here they are in agreement with earlier studies such as those of M. P. Honzik and her co-workers.²² They also feel that certain social environments can have an "appreciable effect" on mental development. They also conclude that improvement in the social environment can have substantial effects in groups at a marked social disadvantage.²³

There is no doubt that minorities are characterized by marked social disadvantage. If this is so, compensatory education should be of considerable help. Unfortunately, there is not much evidence about the effects of compensatory education at this point. The studies relied on by Stein and Susser were with Negroes,

some foreign groups, and others. What we know about the intelligence test scores and IQ's of rural Indian, Mexican-American, and Anglo students is that there are statistically significant differences among these groups. A very recent study showed that fifty-five per cent of Anglo students had high level IQ scores, eighteen per cent had median scores and twenty-seven per cent had low level scores. The Mexican-American pupils had high level scores in 33 per cent of the cases, median level scores in 26 per cent of the cases, and low level scores in 41 per cent of the cases. Even more striking were the differences in the scores of Indians pupils. The respective percents in high, median, and low level categories were 18, 9, and 73.²⁴ However, it is well to approach such results with caution. Socioeconomic factors, language problems, and cultural deprivation also confuse the outcomes and it would be foolhardy to disregard them.

Still it would be difficult to disregard the findings of Bloom regarding the question of change and stability in intelligence. Bloom estimated that 20 per cent of intelligence is developed by age one ; that 50 per cent is developed by age eight ; and that 92 per cent is developed by age thirteen. Bloom's analysis seriously damages the conception of intelligence as constant and, as a result, intelligence must be viewed as a developmental concept, similar to other growth concepts. The effects of early cultural deprivation would, according to this conception, bring about serious intellectual handicaps. Bloom estimated the effects to be about 20 points in IQ.²⁵

Socioeconomic Status

As one reads the literature about the minority groups, the constant references to poverty is striking. It is a recurrent theme. Roessel, a leading figure in Indian education, stresses the poverty aspect.²⁶ Roucek quotes Hubert Humphrey, "Poverty is the everyday life of the American Indian. No other group is so victimized."²⁷ Bass and Burger give figures to back up their contention that the American Indian is the most disadvantaged rural group. According to them, the American Indian compared to the general population suffers grievously. The Indians' income is only two-ninths as much, their unemployment rate is about ten times greater, and their life expectancy is seven years less, plus the infant mortality rate being about 50 per cent higher.²⁸

The Mexican-American is written about in the same fashion. In most areas of the Southwest, the Mexican-Americans face discriminatory practices. Ozzie G. Simmons in his study of a South Texas town labeled "Broder City" details the conditions and the problems. In the city Mexican-Americans are about 56 per cent of the population, but they are in the bottom level of the occupational hierarchy, serving as farm laborers, shed and cannery workers, and domestics. Those found in the middle-group are usually clerks and salesmen.²⁹ Lawrence B. Glick writing in 1966 comments, "Two ethnic, or racial groups in the United States are currently distinguished by their inferior economic status as compared with the nation as a whole. These are the Negroes and the Spanish-speaking."³⁰ He is writing of the Mexican-American. Many are farm workers and the average income of a Spanish-speaking farm worker in the Southwest in 1960 was \$1256. In the Texas area the figure was even lower. Here farm workers earned only an average of \$656.³¹ A 1969 study by Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora states, "poverty and minority are synonymous for a large segment of the Mexican-American population. According to the 1960 census there were 243,000 families in the Southwest who were living in poverty commonly described as stark."³²

THE MINORITIES—A COMPOSITE PICTURE

Having examined the common characteristics of the minority groups it will be useful to look at those aspects of their culture which are distinctive. In many cases there will be overlap but this can hardly be avoided. Even though the Mexican-American and the Indian share many common characteristics, they do differ and the differences make a difference—they define the groups. One very important factor common to these minorities is the problem of visibility. The Indian because of racial considerations will, as a group, be the most visible. The Mexican-Americans are classified as Caucasians but the authorities all agree that Indian blood is very common in the Mexican-American. Philip D. Ortego writes, "The face of Mexican is an Indian face In our time Indian rather than Spanish blood has become a source of pride To be Spanish is to be a *gapuchin*, a foreigner To be a Mexican is to be a member of *la raza* More than two-fifths of the Mexican population are pure-blooded Indians, more

than half have some Indian blood in them."³³ These are the same people as the Mexican-Americans.

Mexican-Americans

The Mexican-Americans have been here for a long time. Yet they are children of poverty and a significant part of the disadvantaged minorities. Just as the Indians, many were waiting in what became the continental United States to greet the advancing Anglo-Americans. As a result of defeat in the Mexican-American War, they were relegated to the status of a defeated people. The later migrants also suffered the same fate. It is a fact, however, that the later migrants were not equipped with the skills necessary to achieve a higher status. Still discriminatory practices did, and continue, to prevail.

Many Mexican-Americans are beginning the upward rise. Ortego holds that the Mexican-Americans' attitudes, interests, and aspirations do not differ very much from those of other Americans.³⁴ Others point out that many Mexican-Americans care less about the Anglo culture and the attitudes toward them. Usually these are lower-class Mexicans who have no desire of moving into the Anglo stream of life. They are not desirous of acquiring Anglo-American ways or improving their status.³⁵ In this respect, they do not appear to differ from many Anglo-Americans.

It is the middle-class Mexican-Americans who are having problems because of attitudes toward them by Anglo-Americans and their own people. The Mexican-Americans often accept the Anglo-American evaluations of them and suffer feelings of low self-esteem and inferiority. Others may experience mixed feelings, wanting to be accepted and improve their status but with a vague uneasiness that it will mean loss of cultural identity. Those who feel this way may wonder if acceptance is worth the price. Their fellows may consider them more Anglo than Mexican. They may, then, speak of a fusion of the best features of both cultures which will allow them to incorporate that which is good from the Anglo culture, but still retain the distinctive features of the Mexican culture.³⁶

What are some of the distinctive features of their culture? First, of course, is language. The Mexican-American appears to

have a fierce loyalty to Spanish. One thing they resent very much is being forbidden to speak Spanish in the schools. Ortego comments, "Mexican-American students are expressly forbidden to speak Spanish except in Spanish classes, and even then Anglo teachers of Spanish consider their Spanish tainted." He quotes from *Handbook for Employees* of a Texas school district, "Every effort should be made to enforce the rule that English is to be spoken in all schools and on all school grounds by pupils, custodians, lunchroom personnel, and teaching personnel Written permission from the Texas Education Agency must be secured for any exception to this rule." He adds, "Note that the no Spanish rule applies equally to custodians, lunchroom personnel, and teaching personnel."³⁷

Another factor which tends to set off Mexican-Americans is their time orientation, a sort of "manana" attitude. But schools are run by the clock. Time is important for the Anglo and his society. The Anglo is future oriented. The Mexican, on the other hand, may be less run by the clock.

Paul M. Sheldon has written of the Mexican tradition of individualism. He states that they are very aware of personal differences and respect individuality. He also maintains that to the Mexican not all men are created equal. His conclusion is that the Mexican-Americans are not a homogeneous group. Fragmented by their heterogeneity and their individualism, they are often unable to speak with a common voice. Sheldon points to other factors which operate: the tradition of loyalty to the extended family, the clearly defined male-female roles; and the distaste among many of the rural folk for advancement at the expense of one's fellows.³⁸ Of interest is the Mexican concept of manliness. Apparently, dependency is not threatening to the Mexican male. He can accept aid from the outside without any great threat to his ego. In fact, poor attendance at school may be a way of asserting his masculinity. According to one study, Mexican-American boys do not get much support from their fathers if they have high occupational aspirations. They may, in fact, be discouraged by their fathers. Extended education or training is more often than not discouraged.³⁹

The American Indian

Indian education is now in a period of ferment and great

change. The literature reveals this ferment. With the Indians it is a question as to which direction they should move. Three groups are readily identified : traditionalists, moderates, and progressives. The traditionalist resists any attempts to assimilate them into the mainstream of American life. The moderates wish to reconstruct Indian society without losing their cultural identity. The progressives desire to reject their Indian culture and become thoroughly acculturated.

The traditionalists are usually very conservative and are the older uneducated Indians. They hold to the old culture and resist change. They resist the white man's education and his modern conveniences, including electricity. The moderates are proud of their heritage. They are a majority in the tribes of the Southwest and to them education is important because it allows them to share in the good things of the dominant white culture. They do wish to retain much of their heritage and do it through the schools. The progressive is for complete acculturation and the acceptance of white values and beliefs. They feel the Indian must abandon his old cultural patterns. Schooling becomes the supreme value and the means of adaptation to the white culture and the internalizing of white, modern values.⁴⁰

What are some of the values of Indians? One expert has identified the following values of Indians. The Indian is said to be present oriented, he is concerned with giving, he has respect for age, he places value on cooperation, he believes in living in harmony with nature. The Indian is a religious man. As a Navajo says, "In our childhood we as American Indians have been taught to value the spirit of man as a significant factor in human environment." His religion is rooted in beliefs in the life of the land, the Mother Earth. Land has deep religious significance for the Indian.⁴¹

Again it is necessary to take into account the language problem. Almost all the Indians speak a separate language. It is difficult to get an accurate estimate of the number of languages spoken by Indians in the United States. One source maintains that in 1492 there were 300 different languages and estimates that between 50 to 100 are spoken now. Whatever the number, very often the Indian language is the language of the household and is used at ceremonial and social gatherings. As Albert Wahrhaftig

has put it, "... the social world of such Indians is a non-English speaking world and English is a language of the outside."⁴² In the Southwest of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah, a similar situation obtains. Navajos speak Navajo. Utes speak Ute. Papago speak Papago. Hopi speak Hpoi.

CONCLUSION

Increasingly the minorities are becoming concerned with their cultural heritage and identity. Treated as inferiors, faced with destruction of their cultural heritage, the minorities have become more militant and aware of the harmful effects of discrimination. Angel writes of the Mexican-American:

The results and the cost of neglect or failure to diagnose the area are with us everywhere. Emotional conflicts, damaged concepts of self, bitterness, dropouts, alienation, marginality, a feeling of shame in being a Mexican-American, delinquency, and so on down a long list of behaviors are with us everywhere.

Almost the same catalogue of failures and costs could be prepared for the Indian.

More and more programs are being developed in response to the demands of the minorities that deal with the heritage of the group. There are not only Black Study Programs but Indian Study Programs and Chicano Studies. Hopefully these programs will help in developing a sense of cultural pride. Both the Mexican-American and the Indians must begin to take more responsibility for their own future. That they are moving in this direction is clear. As Thomas Sawyer, a Cherokee Indian, has written, "The past cannot be changed. It has already happened. What happens next is our responsibility."

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Bicultural Education for American Indians: What Has Been Accomplished

A newspaper headline which appeared recently in a paper widely distributed in southeastern South Dakota proclaimed "Little Change at Wounded Knee Since Take Over Three Years Ago."¹

The Associated Press story by Phyllis Mensing which follows began :

An old Indian man thought about how his life had changed since militant braves occupied his historic village three years ago.

The only difference, he decided, was 20 miles. Since the trading post burned down in the 71-day confrontation with federal marshals, he and his neighbors have had to drive 20 miles farther for groceries.

Otherwise, he said, things on the two million acre Pine Ridge Reservation are pretty much the same.

The poverty, unemployment and dissatisfaction with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) that followers of the American Indian Movement (AIM) were protesting when they took over Wounded Knee still plague the reservation.

"Many nonIndian residents felt the occupation was going to make an impression on Congress so it would do something for Indian people on the reservation. But that didn't happen. Instead of improving, it just created a hardship," said the man.

Like many of the 11,000 residents of the country's second largest reservation he did not want to be identified. Fear and violence reside there too ...

Although many Indians and others have insisted that Wounded Knee was necessary to gain attention from lawmakers so that

the extreme poverty and the severe problems of Reservation Indians might be mitigated— yet one is left with many questions about the futility of such actions. If the old man in Wounded Knee is worse off than before— What was really accomplished?

There is an analogy here to education. Much concern has also been expressed over the kind of education offered to Indian children. The quality of education in Indian schools has been found lacking in many instances. Were Indian children receiving an appropriate education, one which developed appreciations for their own language and cultural heritage or were they receiving an education suited to affluent urban or suburban WASP children? Were they being conditioned to fail— both in school and out? There was enough concern generated by all these questions that tremendous amounts of government money have been poured into hundreds of programs during the last ten years.

The same questions raised by the Wounded Knee take-over might be asked about all this educational furor. Have Indian students benefited? Who has gained and how? Or is it possible that some people, like the old man at Wounded Knee, are actually worse off than before?

In order to weigh the benefits or lack of them it is necessary that a brief overview of some of the major programs be presented. Much of what follows is based on what has been in South Dakota, however, many of the same programs and experiences exist in other parts of the country where there are reservations and sizeable Indian populations.

Materials Development

Materials ranging from "Read Aloud"² traditional stories for preschool children to rather sophisticated curriculum materials for older students have been developed with federal funds. Some of these materials are designed to tie in with standard curriculum areas such as Language Arts, science or social studies. Others are intended to be used by themselves but all are intended to strengthen the Indian Child's knowledge of his cultural heritage and to promote pride in his Indian identity. They are also intended to help non-Indian children learn about and appreciate the Indian culture.

Materials that have been developed are quite varied. In per-

using the catalog of materials developed in just one federal project in California (NICE)³ we find that complete kindergarten kits containing stories, coloring books, wall posters, filmstrips and cassettes plus teacher's guides and resource books can be purchased. All the items listed in the kits can also be purchased separately.

Similar kits are available for grades one through six and a complete program throughout K-6 can be based on this material about Indians native to northern California.

Teaching materials such as those described in the Northern California project are also made available to teachers through the various state departments of education.

The Division of Elementary and Secondary Education in South Dakota will provide such varied materials as *Science—An Indian Perspective*, *The Indians Speak for Themselves*, *Literature Booklet*, *Learning of the Indian People*, *Government of the Indian People*, *Social Life of the Indian People*, *Indian Memories* plus other materials including an annotated bibliography called *Indian Studies Curriculum Material*.⁴

There has also been federal and state funding to familiarize teachers with such materials and train them how to effectively use all this new curriculum material.

Perhaps one of the most exciting developments in the way of materials is not related to federal funding at all—but rather the outstanding stories and books for children being written independently by Indians. Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve has done really an outstanding writing for children beginning with *Jimmy Yellow Hawk*⁵ and continuing with her succeeding books. Another Indian woman who simply wants to write to preserve the old knowledge and ways for children is Evelyn Two Hawk. Mrs. Two Hawk makes a real contribution with her new *Hoksila* and *Winona* series.⁶

Neither of these insightful writers are trying to build a curriculum or meet the demands of a federal grant. They simply want to write stories for and about Indians. Both grew up on a Reservation and know the traditional culture intimately. There are others who can do this for children and youth and these writings may prove the most valuable and beneficial in the long run.

If the question were posed in regard to materials developed

as to the value and benefit derived by Indians, it would have to be answered cautiously. Some material is fine, some is poor, some has received wide distribution, some has received very limited distribution. Some teachers use such supplementary materials well, some don't— It would be almost impossible to give a definitive answer at this stage.

Head Start

In dealing with specific instructional programs for Indian children the earliest and one of the most popular is Head Start. As in all Head Start programs there is a definite effort to involve parents and community members. There has been a drive to staff reservation Head Starts with Indian people whenever possible. In this context there have been Head Start Supplementary Training Programs. These have provided opportunities to adults to work in the Head Start classroom and study simultaneously. Some have been able to achieve Bachelor's degrees through these federally funded Supplementary Training Programs while others have achieved a higher level of knowledge and proficiency in working with children than would have been possible without the supplementary training provided by colleges and universities.

There have been concentrated efforts to teach about the local Indian culture and language to the youngsters attending Head Start on the Reservation.

There certainly have been problems, even in this popular program. Staffing with fully qualified, competent people is still difficult. Money has been limited so that all eligible children do not have the opportunity to participate. Instead of expanding, many programs have been forced to cut back and limit their services. All too often Head Start Programs on Reservations have waiting lists of children that will never get in.

There is also the problem of the vast areas which make up many Reservations. Many children are too remote from the few population centers to have any opportunity to attend Head Start, or any other compensatory program. It is difficult for many non-Indians to realize that large number of Indian children still must attend boarding schools, sometimes beginning with kindergarten at age five, because they are spread over such huge, sparsely populated areas.

Returning to the initial question— Has Head Start benefited Indians. The answer certainly has to be yes— but probably a qualified yes since there is so much that still needs to be done. More programs, and richer programs are still needed. Too many children are still just names on waiting lists. The quality of many programs still needs much improvement. The supplementary training offered adults working in Head Start appears to be fading out of the picture with cuts in funding and this could prove a problem in future staffing.

Follow Through

Follow Through is a program for disadvantaged children throughout the nation designed to give much individual attention and maintain the gains the child has made in Head Start. The name Follow Through was derived from Head Start. The idea was to follow through on the progress the child had already made.

Follow Through Programs are designed for children K through 3. There is a model program followed and federal monies help buy all necessary program materials as well as paying for additional personnel. Aides, and paraprofessional, are often needed to implement the model and give much individual attention. Monies are even provided for remodeling existing classrooms so they can be used more effectively in Follow Through.

Many models are used throughout the country and on the various reservations. They range from Montessori programs to the DARCEE⁷ model, from the unstructured open classroom learning situation imported from Britain to the highly structured DISTAR⁸ approach.

None of them has proved to be a panacea and at least some recent studies have shown that Indian children that have had Follow Through are still seriously limited in verbal skills including reading.

As a matter of fact a number of upper grade teachers (4-6), interviewed recently as part of a study dealing with transition problems DISTAR children experience when moving out of Follow Through, indicated numerous serious problems do exist for children.⁹

These problems, as the teachers see them, run the gamut from inability to work independently, to difficulties in working in

a large classroom group. The children have been conditioned to primarily one type of instruction..... DISTAR..... and have problems adjusting to other kinds of materials and modes of instruction.

It is probably safe to assume other Follow Through programs in schools for Indian children are also seeing similar adjustment and learning difficulties when children move into fourth grade.

Follow Through, like Head Start, has also had Supplementary Training funding and another large group of adults working as aides and assistants in Follow Through classrooms have been able to gain college credit and some have attained college degrees while working. Funding for this purpose has been more limited in recent years.

How beneficial has Follow Through been? Again there are certainly pros and cons but testing of children who have been through Follow Through reveals there are still deficiencies.¹⁰

However, attention is being paid and efforts are being made to improve the crucial early years of schooling for the Indian child. It seems, overall, that again a qualified yes could be given as the answer to the question, has Follow Through helped?

Title Programs, Others

After Follow Through is completed in the third grade there is not much consistency. There are dozens of programs to which the individual can be exposed as he continues on through school. There may be title monies for remedial math or reading. There may be programs for teaching the native language, in South Dakota this is usually Dakota or Lakota. School districts or institutions of higher education may have grants to develop bilingual or bicultural education. This can include art and music as well as language arts and other subjects. As the student gets into high school there may be more special programs in history, language and the like.

Many institutions are getting grants in the area of Career education for Indian children and this is working its way into the schools in a variety of forms.

The student may be a part of an upward bound program to receive help in preparing for college subjects.

Many primarily non-Indian schools are also incorporating teaching and materials about Indian life and culture both past and present into their ongoing curriculum. This is timely, due to the recent interest in Indian matters and in some cases non-Indian children may be receiving more and better teaching regarding Indian life and culture than Indian students on the Reservations.

How can all these programs be assessed? Some are excellent, some are so poor as to be detrimental— all seem to fragment the school day and the curriculum until some classroom teachers express utter frustration. One thing that can be said for Head Start and Follow Through is that they are total programs but after Follow Through the child may be exposed to many different sorts of program, varied modes of instruction, a plethora of materials and some may end up so confused as to be like the old man at Wounded Knee— worse off than before. Many teachers feel that concentrating on basic education might be more productive than spending so much time on all the glamorous extras. There appears much that could be useful but it is not, in some cases, well coordinated into the total program. However, schools are not likely to consider serious modification of any of their multitudinous programs as long as federal money is so badly needed by the schools, particularly by Reservation schools.

Local Higher Education— Community Colleges

One of the more interesting educational phenomena on Reservations in recent years has been the rise of locally controlled and operated Community Colleges.

These are a source of great pride to local residents. There is something about having your own college that seems to say— we do have autonomy, we will control our own destiny, our pride has not been eroded, it still exists.

The community colleges— from Many Farms on the Navajo Reservation to Sinta Gileska (Spotted Tail) on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation have much in common. There is heavy emphasis on Indian culture, history and language. There is also a real effort to respond to local people's interest and request. They may have to import a teacher and frequently do, but they will offer courses people want. These are schools for all the community. Many mature people feel comfortable in attending their own

college so any class may contain all ages and types of people.

They may have to rely on outside funding to keep these institutions going and they may have to resort to complicated means of offering college credit under the auspices of older, more established institutions but none of this has deterred them from expanding enthusiastically.

The community college may be one of the most exciting educational developments we have seen on the Reservations. As with any grass roots movement there has been some internal bickering as to how to proceed—but they have proceeded and continue to move forward in a very dynamic fashion.

Higher Education

Many colleges and Universities are in somewhat the same position as the schools on the Reservations. There are so many funded programs that lead to confusion. These programs extend through the doctoral level.

To name but a few there are programs and funds for Indians wanting to earn degrees in Counseling, library media, special education, administration and Indian Studies.

These are some of the same type grants discussed earlier such as Career Education and Bilingual Education. In addition to the many special programs available to Indian students there is usually funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs or other agencies for qualified Indian students wishing to pursue their own interests in different fields.

Many colleges have established departments of Indian studies which offer programs encompassing history, language, literature and culture or anthropology.

Some states are moving toward requiring coursework in Indian Education for all future teachers. The State Board of Education in South Dakota has just made this a requirement. All students going into teacher education must take at least three semester hours in "Indian Education" or a closely related subject. However what definitely constitutes "Indian Education" has not been clearly defined.

What has been the result of all these programs in higher education—again the answer has to be both positive and negative. Some are superb, others marginal at best but there have been

many opportunities for Indians to advance educationally and professionally.

Conclusions

All of these programs leave one feeling overwhelmed but after sorting them out mentally there does seem to be much fragmentation, duplication and piecemeal implementation of some important ideas in Indian education.

Among the most exciting work explored here is that which Indians have done most independently—writing by Indian authors and the establishment of Community Colleges on the Reservations.

It is certainly a mixture of good and bad but Indians and their educational problems are receiving some long overdue attention. Perhaps the next five to ten years will see some real improvements educationally and economically. Enough so that the old man from Wounded Knee, and the children from Wounded Knee, will honestly be able to say they are better off than they are now.

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Racial Discrimination in Nineteenth Century Public Education in California

The history of California, as well as of American education, is largely the story of the development of the men who have been its leaders. There have been at least two significant theories of history current in the present age— Carlyle's theory of the great man as the maker of history, and Buckle's theory of the determination of history by factors of environment. The truth would seem to lie between these extremes. The leader is influenced by the events and environment of the times, but to a large degree he is able to bring to his work a wisdom that is based upon the essential traditions of his culture and at the same time he is farsighted enough to see beyond the proximate and immediate result. It would be impossible to examine critically racial discrimination in nineteenth century California without including the accomplishments of John Swett, the "Horace Mann of the West". In the educational world of California John Swett was "Little Giant," the founder of public school education in California, and a continuous opponent of racial discrimination in the public schools of the state.

Oscar Handlin once insisted that :

The man of history is a character in a drama that began before his birth, that will go on long after his death He confronts a situation which already exists, the product of long preparation before his arrival.¹

In general this is true ; however, in the case of men like John Swett and other pioneers in California education in the middle of the nineteenth century the situation had not as yet become frozen with old affiliations. They were free to explore alternate solutions and they had the courage to try these alternatives.

Putting these ideas into reality was a difficult and different matter. Early conditions (1850's) in California were not stable

and settled as they were in New England. In its early days, for more than a decade (1849-1859) the men of California were often on the threshold of violence. There was a looseness of social forms which encouraged day-to-day hedonism, and men found themselves drawn to the relief of emotionalism and enthusiasm in politics and religion. The turbulent and unsettled events often provided the setting for legal chaos. For example, in the mine fields one writer observed that :

“..... the miners’ justice was no justice at all, with the innocent suffering as often as the guilty and with only the most haphazard correlation between crime and punishment. Bret Harte, for example, tells the apocryphal tale of the jury that was told its verdict had better be right because the defendant had already been hanged.”²

Without stability in society it was difficult to establish schools. The disturbances brought about by the gold rush (1849) were in a short period of time intensified by the bitter feelings of hostility brought about by the War between the States. Waves of population continued to pour into the State. It is not too difficult to understand that many of the newcomers brought with them as a part of their intellectual baggage the racial prejudices that had been an accepted part of the culture of the particular region. It was also difficult to create a social consciousness from diverse groups. One writer observed :

The result was a curious condition of what might be called legal lawlessness. All the machinery and forms of orderly government were set up and in operation. But instead of serving justice they became merely convenient and conclusive instruments for legalizing injustice.³

California suffered for many years with this political chaos. A good example of this is to be found in the events which surrounded John Swett’s hard fought battle to win the State Superintendency under the banner of the Union Party.⁴ There were thousands of illustrated handbills distributed throughout the state showing a Yankee schoolmaster teaching a mixed class of white and blacks, with a little Negro boy at the head of the class.⁵ One newspaper ran an article entitled, “Dirty Electioneering by Swett’s Opponents.”⁶ It said that the Stevenson Union Democratic Party was resorting to a very low system of electioneering, and

that "it is circulating through the State a little dirty handbill with a black cut representing a white teacher instructing black and white children, and headed 'Amalgamation of Whites and Black—John Swett's System'."7

On the whole, however, although Californians were not overly enthusiastic about educational matters, neither were they hostile, and the friends of the free school were not considered fanatics. In other areas along the frontier this was not so. For example, the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Washington wrote :

Frontier attitudes toward learning can be illustrated in the early history of the Pacific Northwest. In 1881 the Washington Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction learned from the citizens of Stevens County that a school had been built there in 1862, and that ever since, the prairie on which it was located had been called 'Fool's Prairie'.8

A fluid and rapidly changing economy brought many changes to California.⁹ These changes were accompanied with new ideas and new expectations; but unfortunately many of the neo-Californians had brought with them as a part of their intellectual baggage the old concepts of racial prejudice. Racial prejudice was widespread in the early years of California's statehood, and the large number of Southern whites who had emigrated to California at this time were not the only ones who contributed to the racial unrest. The pattern of racial prejudice in the United States did not begin in California in 1850. The pattern seemed to form early in American history, G. P. Nash in explaining the basis for red, white and black relationships, described the foundation ideology that influenced the American character on the eve of the American Revolution. These ideas were to color American thought well into the twentieth century regardless of geographical area with only small modification. Nash wrote :

Africans in America, by contrast (to the Indians) were rarely a part of any political or economic equation. They had only their labor to offer and even that was not subject to contractual agreement This maldistribution of power in the black-white context could not help but affect attitudes. Unlike the Indian, the African was rarely able to win the respect of the white man because his situation was rarely one

where respect was required or even possible. Tightly trapped in an authoritarian relationship where virtually all the power was on the other side, Africans, as they became more and more important to the white man's economy, could only sink lower and lower in the white man's estimation.¹⁰

The next turbulent hundred years only reinforced these prejudices in many parts of America and the neo-Californians seemed reluctant to divest themselves of these emotional intolerant views. Note, for example, the *California Statutes of 1850* excluded Indians, Negroes, and Mulattoes from giving testimony for or against white persons in either civil or criminal cases at law. The defeat of the McCloy Negro Testimony Bill, which proposed giving the testimony of a Negro in the California courts the same weight as that of any other person, drew from Owen, an editor of the *San Jose Mercury*, a bitter and caustic editorial criticism. Owen reproached the legislators for their narrow-mindedness "and their inference that because Negro blood flowed in the veins of a witness, that witness was incapable of uttering legal truths."¹¹ California was not the promised land for American Blacks. They were prevented from voting, forbidden to testify in Court, huddled together into segregated schools, and in 1852 threatened by the Fugitive Slave Bill. Conditions improved after the Civil War, but it was inevitable that the prejudice directed toward the Chinese and the Mexicans would not also be directed in many subtle and sometimes not so subtle ways.

M. M. McCarver, from Kentucky and Sacramento, and a member of the California Convention asserted that free Negroes were "idle in their habits, difficult to be governed by laws, thriftless and uneducated," and then he concluded that their presence in California would be an evil "greater than that of slavery itself."¹² Racial discrimination and intolerance in California history is like the proverbial iceberg in that only a small portion of the true ugliness is revealed above the water. Indian, Mexican, Negro, Chinese, Japanese, and many others were all at one time or another tarnished by the brush of racial intolerance, and it would be impossible to chronologically relate the entire sad tale in such a short space.¹³ In no other sphere of human activity did the evil of racial discrimination reflect so overtly as in the development of public education in California.¹⁴

In 1851 Governor Peter Burnett advised the exclusion of the Negro from California, and the amended school law of 1855 insured prejudice against the non-Caucasian by stating that funds to be apportioned to the various counties would be based upon only the number of white children between the ages of four and eighteen.¹⁵ The undemocratic views of men like Andrew Jackson Moulder, an ex-Virginian, and the third State Superintendent of Public Instruction of California, perpetuated these prejudices. He reminded the Legislature that the law required a census of the white children between the ages of four and eighteen, and that it was upon this census that the state and county school funds were apportioned. It did not matter how many Negro children there may have been in the district, since no school funds were received for their education.¹⁶ In his *Second Annual Report* in 1858, Moulder, who never managed to shake himself of his Southern prejudices, wrote :

I regret to announce that the odious tastes of the Negrophilist school of mock philanthropists have found their way, to some extent, into California. In several of the counties, attempts have been made to introduce the children of the Negroes into public schools on an equality with the whites.

Whenever consulted on the point, the State Superintendent (Moulder) has resisted such attempts, and employed all the power conferred upon him by law to defeat them.¹⁷

Many of the Negroes of California felt that notwithstanding the law and the hostile attitude of some of their fellow Californians that their children should not be deprived of the opportunity to obtain an education ; even if it be a modest one.¹⁸ The first start was made in San Francisco on May 22, 1854. A school was opened in the basement of a colored Methodist Church at the corner of Jackson and Virginia Streets. The school, in charge of J. J. Moore, a Negro teacher, began with an attendance of twenty-three pupils and in a few months almost doubled in number. This was a typical pattern of the early Negro schools— most of them were founded by churches and even often supported by community and church groups.¹⁹ Although State Superintendent Moulder had objected to having colored children attend schools with white children he was not an enemy

of education. In his 1859 *Report* he wrote :

It is not desirable that such children (Africans, Chinese, and Diggers) be brought up in ignorance and heathenism. Any district may establish a separate school for the benefit of the inferior races and apply a certain portion of the public funds to its support, provided the citizens do not object, which it is presumed they will not do, unless for cogent reasons.²⁰

In a short time schools for Negro children were opened in Sacramento, Red Bluff, Oakland and other parts of California.²¹

It is interesting to note that at this time Henry S. Janes charged John Swett with allowing colored children to attend the Rincon School (In San Francisco, California) when he was the school's principal (1855-1862). Janes circulated a handbill in which he publicly stated the charge, and then claimed that he took steps to have the Negroes "removed to a separate school then existing for colored children." Janes continued to press the matter of school segregation. Publicly he stated, "At that time negroes [sic] were taught and classed upon terms of equality in the schools under the charge of Mr. Swett..... The question therefore is, are the people of California prepared to endorse this monstrous doctrine by their votes at the coming election."²² Swett's answer to Janes is to be found in the *Sacramento Union*, wherein he pointed out that not only was Janes mistaken, but also that the charge was also malicious and unfounded.²³

Many of the state's newspapers were strong in their support of Swett. The *Shasta Courier* felt that Swett was the best man for the office. Its editor wrote :

John Swett should be elected because by education and profession he is fitted for the place, certainly more than either a military man or a preacher, and because California is an unconditionally loyal state and his opponents are mainly disloyal men.²⁴

The Civil War period was one of great development of public education in California due to two factors : (1) the continued battle which was conducted by Swett to establish the New England type school system, and (2) the sociological effect of the stimulus of the War on education.²⁵

John Swett, a Union man to the core, was outspoken about his Union sympathies.²⁶ He was an exponent of New England democracy; indeed, he quite consciously envisioned himself as a transplanter of the culture of his birthplace to his adopted state. This is why he found racial discrimination and school segregation so distasteful.

Andrew Jackson Moulder, a former Southerner and Swett's predecessor in the office of State Superintendent of Public instruction in California, had made every attempt to discourage minority groups from coming into the public schools. This might come as a surprise to the modern historians of education who continue to indict nineteenth century public education as a huge urban bureaucracy and that many groups in America sought entrance into these "so-called bureaucratic machines!" In his *Second Annual Report* for the year 1858, Moulder wrote:

Had it been intended by the framers of the law [amended school law of 1855] that the children of the inferior races should be educated side by side with the whites, it is manifested that the census would have included children of all colors. If this attempt to force African, Chinese and Diggers into our white schools is persisted in, it must result in the ruin of our schools.²⁷

John Swett served as the state's Superintendent of Public Instruction during the Civil War period, a period that witnessed major developments in California's public education, and well on into the twentieth century. Swett fought racial discrimination in the public schools in California in every way that he could. He realized more clearly than any of his predecessors the relationship between the state and education.²⁸ His concept of American democracy placed universal education as the foundation of citizenship, and his many writings and speeches constantly emphasized this. This was not an original idea but was rather a part of the intellectual baggage that he brought with him from New England. This concept has a familiar ring. Horace Mann wrote in his *Tenth Report*:

The property of this commonwealth is pledged for the education of all its youth, up to such a point as will save them from poverty and vice, and prepare them for the adequate performance of their social and civil duties."²⁹

When the former Yankee schoolmaster pursued his campaign for free schools for all, it was inevitable that the non-Caucasian issue would be given serious consideration. Swett was among the first educators to address this problem in search of a solution. It was not until 1886 that the National Education Association turned its attention to the problem. In that annual convention, the NEA gave an entire program session devoted to a discussion of the "Problem of Race Education in the United States". A speaker on the Chinese, a former missionary, pointed proudly to the long tradition of Chinese learning and urged that "the gates of education be opened wide to these strangers in our midst..... It is not desirable that they should have special schools by themselves."³⁰ Actually, the Chinese were not strangers to California. They had come to California at the time of the Gold Rush. One writer described the early signs of racial intolerance in California in this way :

In the gold rush days, when the first Celestials had appeared in California, they were given a cordial reception..... In the diggings, however, there was less of racial tolerance than often prevailed among the whitecollared whites in cosmopolitan San Francisco..... Objection was not raised to Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians, or Irish, but with varying intensity was visited upon Frenchmen, Spanish Americans, Indians, Negroes, and especially upon the Chinese.³¹

By 1884 Denish Kearney and his Sandloters had convinced Californians that the many Chinese or Celestials that had come to America to mine the gold or to build the railroad were now some kind of a threat to American economic well-being (as well as cultural).³² W. T. Welcher, State Superintendent of Schools decided in 1884 that Chinese children could not be admitted to the public schools. He based his decision on the State Constitution, which stated that public education is intended only for those who can or are to become citizens. At that time in California the Chinese were excluded from citizenship, and due to this legal technicality 1,240 innocent Chinese children (the number the census showed in San Francisco in 1884) were forbidden all opportunity for a free education.³³ It is not difficult to envision that where racial prejudice exists it will

spread quickly. According to Robert Heizer and Alan Olmquist, for example, "it may be suggested that in the absence of blacks the anti-Negro sentiments (of Californians) were applied to the Chinese," and Alexander Saxton asserts that "the main dynamic (for the anti-Chinese feeling) came from the historic experience with blacks and slavery."³⁴

California history is an exciting panorama of golden events marred, unfortunately by many incidents of racial disturbance discrimination. From the period of 1850 down to almost the turn of the century important men in high places in California were outspoken about the undesirability of the non-Caucasian races, and attempted to exclude these groups from the public schools. The public attitude of men like Burnett and Moulder, and the bitterness brought about by the Civil War and the legacy of its aftermath, did not improve matters in California.

The outcome of the Civil War, however, radically altered the Negro problem. In 1866 a law was passed by the California legislature that allowed non-Caucasians to enter a white school, providing there was no objection from a white parent. Following the enactment of this law, most of the school districts admitted Negro children.³⁵ Swett took a legal stand on the issue of education of non-Caucasian groups. He saw no alternative to upholding the state law, but was very pleased when national events began to change the public attitude toward these groups.³⁶ He believed that when you dipped your hand into the public coffers, it was bound to come up tainted with democracy.³⁷

The year 1866 was an important one. Congress had passed the Civil Rights Bill which granted citizenship to all emancipated persons. In the same year the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was proposed. This famous amendment provided, among other things, that no state could deprive any citizen of the equal protection of the laws. California's cooperative response was an amendment to the school law (Revised School Law of 1866). In our contemporary age of civil rights, this law would be judged as a poor law, but it did give at least mild recognition to the educational rights of non-white children.

Unfortunately, in spite of J. B. Bury's extreme allegiance to the concept of progress in the nineteenth century, the Legislature of 1870 modified the 1866 statute, the principal change being the

elimination of "Mongolian" children from the provisions of the law, and which also provided that "the education of children of African descent, and Indian children, shall be provided for in separate schools."³⁸ This was retrogression and decreed segregation, although the rights of non-white children to an education appeared to have been recognized during Swett's second term as State Superintendent of Public Instruction. It should be noted that the law as amended in 1870 omitted any reference to Chinese children. This was due to the bitter hatred toward the Chinese in many quarters—the real racial problem confronting early California. For many decades the Chinese children were met everywhere with blanket refusals for admission into the public schools.³⁹

In 1872, because of a Supreme Court decision, the California Legislature attempted to simplify the 1870 Act by providing: "Sec. 1669. The education of children of African descent, and Indian children, must be provided for in separate schools; provided that if the directors fail to provide such separate schools, then such children must be admitted into the schools for white children."⁴⁰

One should keep in mind that the 1850–1870 period in California was a transitional period from a pioneer society to one of some stability and a higher state of civilization. Colored children were not the only ones neglected in the early years of California's statehood. In the May 1865 issue of *The California Teacher*, John Swett, then State Superintendent of Education, wrote a lively account of his visits that year to southern California and to other parts of the state; and presents a lively and vivid picture of the school and travel conditions of the times. In describing the "old City of Los Angeles, ... in all the lazy loveliness of a semi-tropical climate," he tells about his visit to one of the separate schools in no way remarkable for order, discipline or progress. He wrote:

There is also a small school of fifteen negro [sic] children of all the shades arising from blending all the primary colors of Spanish, American, Indian, and African parentage. They are engaged in the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, as their little room of ten by fifteen feet has neither desks, blackboards, maps, charts, nor any kind of furniture, except a line of rough board seats without backs, around the wall.⁴¹

The road to free and equal educational opportunities in California was a long and tortuous one. It was not until 1947, when sections 8003 and 8004 of the School Code were repealed, that the public schools of California became legally integrated. Almost up to 1950 in many parts of the State there were still separate schools for Mexican-American and Chinese children to be found. In describing this action, one writer commented, "Another triumph for civil rights was achieved in 1947 when two discriminatory sections of the Education Code were repealed."⁴²

In his *Second Biennial Report*, Swett sadly recorded that : "The people of the State are decidedly in favor of separate schools for colored children." Yet, in the introduction of the *Report*, he openly went on record as an advocate of universal education by saying, "with a determination to secure for every child in California a right guaranteed by law to an education in a system of free schools based upon the proposition that the 'property' of the State ought to be taxed to educate the 'children' of the State."⁴³ Prior to this, in his *First Biennial Report* (1864-65), Swett had argued forcefully that, "If all classes pay taxes on their property for the support of the schools, there is no reason why the children of all classes, whether white, black, Tawney, or copper-colored, should not be educated."⁴⁴

When Swett ran for office again in 1867, he was praised by many and condemned by but a few. One of the charges against him was that he approved of the democratic concept of "non-segregated" schools.⁴⁵ It was dangerous to be a champion against racial discrimination and racial prejudice in California at this time. Swett was called the "very quintessence of Black Republican acrimony," but he was well defended by many newspapers one in particular the *Red Bluff Independent* hotly denied this charge against Swett, and called him "a modern educator, not a modern Socrates."⁴⁶

Before he left the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, he spoke to the teachers of California, in these words :

I well remember the circumstances under which we met..... Rebels were exultant and patriots despondent. the tide of invasion was rolled back, and the nation was saved Into the regions of rebellion and ignorance, free schools have followed into the tracks of the Union armies. The gleam of

intelligence already begins to illuminate the dusky faces of the children of a race long enslaved.⁴⁷

This speech, in part, shows that John Swett was extremely patriotic, a strong nationalist, and a hearty advocate of the equal rights doctrine. From 1850 to almost 1880, men like John Swett were busy laying the foundation of our common school system in California based upon the New England concept that the public school was the agency of Americanization in a society that was dynamic and composed of a diverse population.⁴⁸ The growth of California was so rapid from 1850-1900 that the state lacked the opportunity of the usual probationary training in government and in the development of its institutions, such as the educational system. Many newly-arrived Californians achieved impressive accomplishments in the field of politics and statesmanship; Swett's achievements were in behalf of the children who had no votes with which to record his faithful service. Although he could announce with some pride that after 1867 the transition period of California from rate-bill common schools to an American free school system was complete he knew that the heavy hand of racial discrimination weighed oppressively on the public school. Education at any given time or place is in large measure the product of the civilization of which it is a part; however much it may be influenced by custom and tradition, it is always sensitive to contemporary social forces. Conditions in California regarding racial prejudices and racial discrimination in the 1850-1900 period were not much different in the other states of the Union. This is the point made by L. W. Spoehr when he wrote:

Alexander Saxton's discussion of the 'ideological baggage' carried by California's white population confirms the idea that Californians' political views, including the racial component, were typical of the views espoused by the white population of the whole nation.⁴⁹

In the same analysis L. W. Spoehr comes to three different conclusions: "first, positive stereotypes of the Chinese were much more prevalent among whites than positive stereotypes of blacks; second, Chinese tended to be classified primarily by racial nationalist, or cultural, criteria, while blacks were classified by linking racial nationalist with racial naturalist, or biological, criteria."⁵⁰ He then concludes that thirdly: "views on the nature

of the black man were so widely shared and so firmly held that they amounted to a consensus, while no stereotype of the Chinese was so nearly universal."⁵¹ With this intellectual ethos it was difficult for the school to mirror the ideals of democracy; and the rapid and continual expansion of California made the growth of education seem as though it were "boom-inspired," and to some extent this was true. Education never seemed to meet the needs of this burgeoning society and yet in spite of this difficulty, and the surrounding shadows of racial discrimination and prejudice, in little more than a century and a half California has risen from a land of barbarians to become one of the most progressive commonwealths in the nation. Perhaps this is why Carey McWilliams calls California "the Great Exception".

FOOTNOTES

1. Oscar Handlin, "The History of Men's Lives," *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXX (Autumn, 1954), p. 540.
2. John W. Caughey, *California: A Remarkable State's Life History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1970), p. 227; See also Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1973), pp. 136-150; and George R. Stewart, *Committee of Vigilance, Revolution in San Francisco* (New York, 1964).
3. Stewart E. White, *The Forty-Niners* (New Haven, Conn., 1918), p. 101.
4. Swett later wrote: "Politics— No active part in politics, except as a candidate for the office of State Supt." Unpublished manuscript, "Rough Sketch Prepared as a Curiosity," *Swett Papers*, Hill Girt Farm, Martinez, Calif.
5. The Handbill's design resembled that style used on the famous coffin handbills in the days of Andrew Jackson.
6. *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 30, 1862, p. 4. See also Henry P. Carlton, "Educators of the Pacific Slope— John Swett," *Pacific School Journal*, VI (June 1882), 244, who states that Swett was an "un-compromising Union man."
7. *Sacramento Daily Union*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
8. *Annual Report, 1881*, Washington, Superintendent of Public Instruction, pp. 28-31.
9. The U. S. Census figures revealed only part of the growth factor. The Population of California was in 1860— 379,994, in 1870— 560,247, and in 1880— 864,694. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D. C., 1960), p. 13.

10. Gary P. Nash, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : 1974), p. 313 ; see also Nicholas C. Polos, "Textbooks and the Invisible Man," *The Educational Forum*, (May, 1967). 47780 ; and Lloyd Marcus, *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, 1963) , p. 59. Note that many wanted to prohibit even free Negroes from settling in California. Semple declared that "he would prefer being kept out of the Union to all 'eternity' rather than 'admit these herds of free Negroes'." Jos. Ellison, "The Struggle for Civil Government in California: 1846-1850," *California Historical Quarterly*, X, No 2 (June, 1931), 151-52 ; see also Geo. Cosgrave, "James McHall Jones, The Judge That Never Presided," *California Historical Quarterly*, XX, No. 2 (June, 1941), and in the same journal, "The Story of a Gold Miner," by E. F. Morse, VI, No. 3 (Sept., 1927), 223. Note that terms like "Nigger Slide," and "Nigger Tent" were used freely in the mining areas. See "The Journals of Charles E. De Long, 1856-1863." *California Historical Quarterly*, VIII, No. 4 (Dec. 1929). 342. 10
11. "Andrew Wilson on Civil War California." *California Historical Quarterly*, XXXII, No. 4 (Dec., 1953), 310, n 28. In the same article the author writes: "Many of the Californians consider the Chinamen to be 'a little lower,' and some of them a 'damned sight lower' than the negro (sic)"; ; see also Benjamin B. Beales, "The San Jose Mercury and the Civil War," XXII, No. 3 (June, 1943), 225 of the *Quarterly*, and Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York, 1973), p. 76 ; also Gerald Stanley, "Racism and the Early Republican Party: the 1856 Presidential Election in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLIII, No. 2 (May 1974), 180.
12. Walton Bean. *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1973), p. 130. On the matter of the Fugitive Slave Law and *ex parte Archy* (1858) see John W. Caughey, *California: A Remarkable State's Life History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1870), p. 266 ; see also Moses Rischin, "Immigration, Migration, and Minorities in California: A Re-assessment," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLI, No. 1 (Feb., 1972), and "Peter H. Burnett and the Provisional Government Movement," by Wm. E. Franklin, in the *California Historical Quarterly*, XL, No. 2 (June, 1961), 123-34.
13. Luther W. Spoehr. "Sambo and the Heathen Chinese: Californians' Racial Stereotypes in the Late 1870s," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLII, No. 2 (May, 1973), 185-205 ; and Lawrence B. De Graaf, "The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890-1930," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXIX, No. 3 (Aug., 1970), 323-353.
14. On school discrimination against Negroes in the early days see Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles, 1919), Chapter XV, titled "Education".
15. California Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Eighth Annual Report*, 1859. Sacramento, 1859, p. 14. See also *California Statutes*, 1863,

p. 194 ; *California Statutes, 1865-66*, p. 413, and *California Statutes, 1864*, p. 213, for the section on apportionment and the non-Caucasian races (Indian, Negro, and Mongolian).

16. See Delilah Beasley, *op. cit.*, Chap. XV.
17. *Eighth Annual Report, 1859*, p. 14. Moulder was not alone in supporting these views. See Peter H. Burnett, *The Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York, 1880), pp. 294-305.
18. Delilah Beasley, *op. cit.*, Chap. XV. See also Lawrence B. De Graaf, "Recognition, Racism, and Reflections on the Writing of Western Black History," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLIV, No. 1 (Feb., 1975); and George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York, 1971), p. 321.
19. See William W. Ferrier, *Ninety-Years of Education in California* (Berkeley, Calif., 1937), Chap. II.; and John Swett, *History of the Public School System of California* (San Francisco, 1872).
20. California Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Eighth Annual Report, 1859*, Sacramento, Calif. 1859.
21. Roy M. Cloud, *Education in California* (Stanford, Calif., 1952), pp. 44-45; and, David Barrows Stewart, "The Development of Constitutional Provisions Pertaining to Education in California." Unpublished d. D., dissertation, University of California, 1951.
22. The handbill "Have Negroes Been Taught and Classes on Terms of Equality in Public School Under the Charge of Mr. John Swett? may be found in the *Swett Papers*, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
23. *Sacramento Union*, September 10, 1862, p. 3. See also the *Yreka Semi-Weekly Journal*, June 25, 1862, p. 2.
24. *Shasta Courier*, August 23, 1862, p. 2, and the *Semi-Weekly Southern News*, June 27, 1862, p. 2.
25. See Peter T. Conmy, *A History of Public School Support in California, 1849-1933* (Unpublished Ed. D., dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1937), p. 59.
26. ".....John Swett of California was the most single factor in weighing the scales on the side of history " Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1935), p. 196, referring to Swett's loyalty to the federal government in the struggle with the Confederacy.
27. On Moulder's view on segregation, the best source is his *Elghth Annual Report, 1859*, p. 14.
28. California, *Proceedings of the Third State Teachers' Institute 1863*, p. 80.
29. Massachusetts Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Tenth Annual-Report, 1849* (Boston, 1849), p. 32.
30. Topeka, Kansas, *Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1886* (Washington, D. C., 1886), pp. 192-232. The 1880 period in American educational history reveals a deep concern over the education of

minority groups. See, for example, William H. Ward, "The Danger Line in Negro Education," in J. C. Hartzell (ed.), *Christian Educators in Council* (New York, 1884), pp. 67-71, and see Zach Montgomery, *The School Question from a Parental and non-Sectarian Point of View* (Washington, D.C., 1886), pp. 3-10. Note that John J. Earle stated that: "... in a few brief years all sectional animosities were put aside, the bitter enmities of the war times were forgotten....." *The Sentiment of the People of California with Respect to the Civil War* (Washington, D. C. 1902), p. 135. This was not completely true in regard to segregation.

31. John W. Caughey, *California* (New York, 1953), p. 383. Swett wrote in his *Miscellaneous Scrapbook*, "Here is the last of the 'nigger' question of 1862." *Swett's Papers*, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. For Swett's answer to H.B. Janes's views on the Negro and the Schools see the *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 3, 1864, p. 1, and January 18, 1874, p. 7.
32. On this issue see Luther W. Spoehr, "Sambo and the Heathen Chinese: Californians' Racial Stereotypes in the Late 1870s," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLII, No. 2 (May, 1973), 185-204. See also Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, 1970); and Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1971).
33. From an editorial, "Colton Semi-Tropic," in the *San Francisco News*, September 27, 1884.
34. Quoted in L.W. Spoehr, *op. cit.*, 185-86.
35. Roy W. Cloud, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Colored children were not the only ones neglected in the early years of California. See also John Swett, "Indian Children," *California Teacher*, X (July, 1872), 21, and "Educational Matters in Southern Countries," *California Teacher*, II (May, 1865), 269-279.
36. John Swett, "Editorial" Department, *Pacific School Journal*, X August, 1886), 143.
37. *Ming v. Horgan* (1958), 3 *Cal App.* 693. "Education is democracy's way of teaching people to become deliberate and thoughtful about the direction of social change." John Swett, *Second Biennial Report, 1866-67* (Sacramento, 1867), p. 141. In this regard (education's objectives) see Maxine Greene, "Challenging Mystification," *Educational Studies*, VII, No. 1 (April 1976), 9-30; and in regard to the present revisionist critiques see Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, and Joel Spring, *Roots of Crisis* (Chicago, 1973).
38. R. Cloud, *op. cit.*, 45.
39. See Nicholas C. Polos, John Swett: Stranger in Paradise," *The Pomona Valley Historian* V, No. 3 (July, 1969), 109-114; See also the revised school law of 1866, and *Ward v. Flood* (1874), 48 *Cal. App.* 36, which stated that the Legislature may ordain that Negro education can be satisfied by separate schools. This issue was settled by the *Wysinger*

v. *Crookshank* (1890) case, 83 *Cal.* 855 which held that the Negroes were not to be segregated in California. Exclusion of the Chinese continued, however, see *Calif. Statutes* (1880) pp. 38, 47; *Wong Him v. Callahan* (1902), 119 *Fed.* 381; and *Calif Statutes*, 1917, p. 667.

40. Roy Cloud, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
41. Nicholas C. Polos, *op. cit.*, 109-114; and John Swett, "Educational Matters in Southern Counties," *The California Teacher*, II (May, 1865), 269-280.
42. David Farrelly, *The Politics of California* (New York, 1951), p. 54. Note that the decision of the United States Supreme Court forbidding segregation of any kind in education and striking down the "separate but equal" doctrine. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), 163 U. S. (537) in *Brown v. Topeka* 1954. 347 U.S. 482, renders any form of state action to the contrary unconstitutional. See also *Calif. Statutes*, 1946, Chap. 737, the legal enactment forbidding segregation in the State of California, terminated the issue of segregation (1850-1946) in California.
43. *Second Biennial Report*, 1866-67, pp. 6 and 22, on Swett's views on the wishes for the electorate. Swett finally insisted that the law be obeyed even though he was not in full accord with it. "You will instruct your Marshalls that, in the column of children entitled to the State and County apportionment of school moneys, only 'white' children are to be included." "Circular to the Trustees," *California Teacher*, II (July, 1864), 21.
44. *First Biennial Report*, 1864-65, p. 57.
45. "Conditions of the State," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 25, 1867, p. 2, and the *Daily Alta California*, Sept, 13, 1867, p.1. Swett characterized politics as "the meanest, most uncertain calling a man could have." Helen Swett to Charles E. Schwartz, July 2, 1899. *Helen Swett Artioda Papers*, Bancroft Library, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley.
46. Quoted in the *Red Bluff Independent*, Sept. 25, 1867, p. 2. For the election results (Swett lost the election) see W.J. Davis, *A History of Political Conventions in California*, 1849-92 (Sacramento, 1893), p. 268; and the *California State Senate Journal*, 1867-68 (Sacramento, 1868), p. 92.
47. *Second Biennial Report*, 1866-67, pp. 135-144. Note, however, that the beginning section is missing in that report.
48. California, Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1863, p, 94. "I love the State of my adoption; I am proud of her educational record. I hope to see California as distinguished for her common schools, her colleges, her institutions of learning, as she has been for the enterprise of her people, and the mineral wealth of her mountains," wrote John Swett in his *Second Biennial Report*, 1866-67, p. 144.
49. L.W. Spoehr, *op. cit.*, p. 189; and see Nicholas C. Polos, "Black Anti-Semitism in the Twentieth-Century America: Historical Myth or Reality?" *American Jewish Archives*, XXVII, No. 1 (April, 1975). 8-31; and Nicholas C. Polos, "Text books and the Invisible Man," *The Educational Forum*, XXXL, No. 4 (May, 1967), 477-80, and Elmer C.

Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, Ill., 1939), pp. 105-109.

50. L.W. Spoehr, *op. cit.*, p. 202. See also Rodman W. Paul, "The Origins of the Chinese Issue in California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (1938), 181-196; and S.C. Miller, *The Unwelcomed Immigrant : The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley, cal., 1969).
51. L.W. Spoehr, *op. cit.*, p. 204. See also *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California, Convened at the City of Sacramento, Saturday, Sept. 28, 1878* (Sacramento, 1880-1881), II, 642, in which C.V. Stuart, a farmer from Sonoma, California, expressed this view: "I believe one white man is worth two Chinaman; that one Chinaman is worth two negroes; and that one negro is worth two tramps....."

The Ideologies of Racism and Sexism : A Comparison

Introduction :

Throughout the 1960's, value-oriented social movements affected U.S. society in a variety of ways. Two terms, racism and sexism, became emotion-laden explanations of social conditions as well as designated villains and symbolic rhetoric for minority movements. Racial minorities, *i.e.*, Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans, focused upon racism, while the women's movement emphasized sexism as the enemy.¹ Amidst the rhetoric of both types of movements, the minor women have been confronted with appeals that they relate to both 'isms.

In the literature of the women's movement, we find constant references to the similarity of conditions between women and minorities, especially Blacks. Some feminist authors indicate that the only way we can end racism is by ending sexism.² Within the minority movement, the condition of women is de-emphasized as a white man's ploy to divide the racial minority and defeat any gains a sexually united effort may bring to their specific movement.³

In this paper we are concerned with examining the significance of these two terms, racism and sexism, and their interrelationship as ideologies. We will first deal with racism and then sexism as ideology. We will then compare the two ideologies to provide a closer examination of their similarities and differences.

Racism.

Racism is a term with ambiguous connotations to say the least. Aside from the emotional aspects involved in charges of "racism" and "racist society," the term leaves a good deal to be

desired in relation to its sociological implications. Here we will deal with racism as ideology and its relationship to social arrangements. The ideology of racism, *i.e.*, one "race" being superior to others, is the justification for a social arrangement where one group exploits other groups. The social structure is organized in such a way that the "racially superior" group places itself in a position of privilege and maintains social institutions for its own benefit.

The relegation of groups of people to positions of dominance or subordination in a social system on the basis of physical-cultural characteristics (as a social phenomenon) is also referred to as racism. Implicit in racism is an unequal distribution of power or the ability to affect social activities through control of social rewards and sanctions.⁴ This operational aspects of racist ideology has become a focal point for minorities categorized as racial minorities in the United States in their confrontations with the white (Anglo) dominated system for a fair share of rewards and privileges.⁵

The relationship between racism as ideology, *i.e.*, a set of interrelated values which justify a particular social order, and racially discriminatory behaviour within a society is a much debated topic. Noel clarifies the issue in hypothesizing that racism as ideology in the United States is a product of the institutionalization of black slavery.⁶ The enslavement of Africans to produce profit for the agrarian based society began as an economic arrangement. The inherent conflict between an institution of human bondage and the ideological valuation of human freedom and equality presented a dilemma for the emerging nation. The resolution of the conflict was the solidification of an ideology that justified such an arrangement, *i.e.*, racism. Eventually the ideology of racism itself became a necessary component for maintaining a social arrangement of white privilege regardless of the economic advantages or disadvantages of slavery.

White privilege, the unfair advantage or systematic "headstart" in the pursuit of social reward such as money, learning, power, etc., is related to the systematic inequality found in any stratified society.⁷ When placement within the stratification scheme of a society is dependent upon physical-cultural characteristics, the society is racist, that is, the ideology of racism justifies placement on the basis of "racial" differences.

The extension of racism to justify exploitation of Chicanos

(after 1848), Native Americans (late 1800's), and immigrants from Europe or Asia who differed from the dominant Anglo-Saxon stock was relatively simple for U. S. society. It is especially relevant to us to consider the treatment of the waves of immigrants who entered the U. S. during the latter 1800's and the early 1900's. For the most part, these immigrants differed from the dominant group in that they were mostly from Eastern and Southern Europe nationally and they were predominantly Jewish or Catholic rather than Protestant. Hence, the 'new' immigrant was not readily assimilated into the dominant Anglo-Saxon and Protestant culture of the United States. The rise of racial nativism in the U.S. was a result of a merging of Anglo-Saxonism as a superior cultural tradition with the naturalist (scientific) inquiry into "racial" differences among the variety of homo-sapiens which Europeans encountered in their period of colonial expansion during the 17th and 18th centuries.⁸ The significance of being "white" for Europeans (Northern, Southern, Eastern, or Western) is that they were better able to blend into the dominant tradition once they had been properly 'educated' into the Anglo-Saxon culture. Their physical differences were not as great as were the obvious differences for persons of color, *i.e.*, darker skin pigmentation compared to the Anglo-Saxon norm.

This "floating" use of the ideology of racism is perhaps better understood when we consider racism as an extreme form of ethnocentrism. Ethnocentricity (believing that one's own in-group is superior to other out-groups) is a common phenomenon in every society. It is part of a valuation process for developing pride and loyalty to one's own nation-state, etc. The difference between racism and ethnocentrism is the basic inherent superiority/inferiority of racism. That is, cultural ethnocentrism does not exclude the possibility of members of the out-group becoming members of the in-group once they have learned the proper attitudinal and behavioral patterns of the in-group culture. When cultural distinctions become secondary and physical differences become primary, in the classification of in-group or out-group members, ethnocentrism has become racism and the possibility of out-group members becoming equal participants of the in-group society is negated. In racist ideology, the innate physical differences (skin pigmentation) are considered part of a natural order and no amount of education can render members of the "inferior" group equal to "superior"

group members.⁹

Racist ideas existed prior to European colonial expansion and the American Revolution. During colonial expansion, Europeans misinterpreted technological superiority for cultural superiority. By combining cultural superiority with the obvious physical differences between themselves and the colonized peoples, the Europeans were able to justify European privilege in decision-making and, therefore, they did not have to admit "out-group" members to the competition for the top positions in the social order.¹⁰ This is precisely the issue (white privilege) that dominates the theme of racial movements for equality in the United States, *i.e.*, access to the decision-making positions of the social order.

The systematic exclusion of whole groups of people from the competition for social rewards is manifested in institutionalized racism. Once racism as ideology has become institutionalized in a social structure, the result is a "headstart" for members of the privileged group, in this case, the Anglo (white) in U.S. society. The ideology of racism can be rejected, yet, the very structure of the society continues to provide privilege for the formerly favored (superior) group regardless of attitudinal changes (prejudice) or behavioral changes (anti-discrimination laws). It is this dilemma that continues to face U.S. society, a dilemma of reorganizing the structural advantages once monopolized by the dominant group. We are left with a social phenomenon whereby racism as ideology has justified an unequal distribution of power among groups in a society. Operationally, racism includes differentiation of power (relegation to positions of dominance/subordination), location (in a social system), and identifiable criterion (basis of physical-cultural characteristics).

We need now to explore the ideology of sexism. Any obvious similarities or differences between the two ideologies, sexism and racism, will not be commented upon until the latter portion of this paper.

Sexism

The term, sexism, refers to the differential in the power relationship between the sexes in a society, *i.e.*, men dominate women. The social arrangement of male domination (patriarchy) has been relatively prevalent throughout the history of human civilization.¹¹

The difficulty in viewing the ideology of sexism is that it is so pervasive that we can only identify its core values by examining the anti sexist or feminist literature. Here, we are interested in the ideology of sexism as it applies to U.S. society.

Ideas of male domination have permeated custom, law and social values in the United States from the colonial period until the present. Prior to the 1800's married women in the U. S. were virtually non-persons before the law. English common law stated: "Husband and wife to be one, and that one the husband."¹² By law single women had the same civil rights as men, but de facto male supremacy dominated. Ownership of property was the one advantage single women held over their married sisters.¹³

The legal and extra-legal (social) statuses of women began to change during the 1800's. For example, Married Women's Property Acts were passed by several states beginning with Mississippi in 1839. These new laws granted married women the right to own property, but male domination prevailed in social custom. Socially, women entered private secondary schools and women's colleges in the early part of the century. In 1833 a coeducational school, Oberlin College, admitted women and Blacks. During this same year, women organized the National Female Anti-Slavery Society, marking the first time women had formally organized with a goal of influencing the political and legal status quo.¹⁴

The core of sexist ideology which justified a social arrangement of male domination is reflected in the opposition to the idea of formal higher education for women and to the public speaking of female abolitionists. It centered around the following widely-held beliefs of the period: (1) woman, through Eve, was the greater sinner and needed to be more pious, virtuous, and repentant as she was more easily tempted to sin; (2) God had made woman subservient to man, she was to be silent in public and remain in the home as wife and mother; and (3) woman was truly inferior to man in mental capacity and physical strength, hence it was man's duty to protect and care for the weaker sex¹⁵.

During the 19th century the economic status of women's labor in the home came to be less valued. The preparation of food stuffs and clothing production moved into the new industries and women began to enter the labor force as wage earners. Throughout the century, women were to measure their worth as women (the cult of

true womanhood) as opposed to their worth as economic contributors.¹⁶ The social rationalizations for the acceptance of working women shifted emphasis, but only in minimal degrees, during the century. In the early half of the 1800's these beliefs were emphasized: (1) the work must be similar to work performed in the home; (2) no great skill need be involved; (3) no great physical strength was required; and, most important, (4) the work must involve little direct contact with men.¹⁷ A gradual expansion of what was accepted, fitting, and proper employment for women took place as women entered more diverse occupations later in the century. As long as the type of work could be rationalized to fit the ideal that women were first and always wives and mothers and that the work was truly feminine in nature (an extension of the home into the broader society) working women became accepted as an approved pattern of the social structure. The predominant belief and social valuation was that every woman's goal was to have a home, husband, and children, thus fulfilling her natural and instinctual vocation.¹⁸

During the 1900's science replaced religion as the basis for the social justification of male domination. The shift in valuations are reflected in Friedan's description of the feminine mystique, an updated version of the cult of true womanhood. The feminine mystique clearly states that the only way a woman can be truly fulfilled is ".....through sexual passivity, male domination, and nurturing maternal love"¹⁹ According to Friedan, the perpetuation of the mystique is based on: (1) the Freudian concept of femininity from which the idea of 'anatomy is destiny, evolved; (2) the structural-functional form of analysis utilized in the social sciences which emphasizes the functionality of role expectations in the maintenance of the social system; and (3) sex-directed education which emphasizes division of labor in the family and adjustment to material role expectations on the basis of sex.²⁰

Sexism does not simply categorize persons in the general sense of majority-minority relations whereby a minority is a group which has been relegated to "...inferior social position in which its interests are not effectively represented in the political, economic, and social institutions of the society."²¹ In sexism, we have the general social arrangement which perpetuates a socialization process of designating women as inferior to men, especially in the power or decision-making area of the society. We also have a

power differential that applies to the smallest of human groups, a dyad (two person group), consisting of one male and one female. Millett refers to this dual power differential as sexual politics where consent is obtained" ...through the socialization of both sexes to basic patriarchal politics with regard to temperament, role, and status."²² Sexism has two levels of exploitation; (1) the structural arrangement where men control the rewards and resources of the society, and (2) the dyadic arrangement where women are expected to adhere to a subservient role in their one to-one relationships with men.

The institutionalization of sexism perpetuates the power differential between men and women regardless of the economic advantages for the society. The social structure and socialization patterns continue to promote male supremacy regardless of the attitudes of society's members. This is the dilemma that continues to perplex U.S. society as well as provoke discontent among feminists who ascribe to an ideology of equality, regardless of sex, in the competition for social rewards and resources. Operationally, sexism includes power differentiation (relegation to positions of dominance/subordination), place location (in a social system), and identifiable criterion (basis of physical characteristics).

The comparison between sexism and racism has most often been done by feminist writers. The oppression of racial groups is presented as an analogy to the oppression of women and the similarities between the two ideologies is often treated as a quantitative difference.²³ We will now compare and contrast the two ideologies.

Racism and Sexism : Compare and Contrast.

Racism, as ideology, is more complex than sexism in that "racial identity" is less exact than sex identity, that is, race has a history of being a "floating" term. Race has been utilized to justify social subordination when differences have been cultural or ethnic rather than biological inheritance. Even when differences in skin pigmentation have been empirically obvious, cultural differences have influenced the labeling process, e.g., Southern and Eastern Europeans in U.S. society. Racism, because it is the extreme of ethnocentrism, categorizes persons, men and women, on criteria which in many ways are arbitrary.

Sexism, as ideology, is quite straightforward in that obvious

differences between the sexes provide rather accurate application. The historical pervasiveness of sexism has given the term a more exact meaning. The classification of behavioral patterns, temperament differences, and self concepts in men and women are culturally learned and reinforced to such an extent that it is difficult to remember we are dealing with ideology not inheritance when we discuss differences between the sexes. The physiological differences in gender have been the basis for imputing myths regarding women throughout human history.²⁴

As a social arrangement, racism is less complex than sexism. Once the power relationship has been established as majority-minority, the implementation of social barriers necessary to maintain the differential becomes straightforward. The separation of groups, that include men and women, into classes or castes is only a matter of identifying group memberships. As long as the superordination/subordination can be maintained with a minimal amount of effort on the part of the dominant group, the social structure perpetuates the arrangement with socialization processes and limited access to privilege.

Sexism, as a social arrangement, is complex in the power differentials cross class, caste and racial boundaries. Women are not an oppressed class in any way, they are an oppressed sex.²⁵ The manifestation of the subordinate position of women varies depending upon the class level and racial identity of the women in U.S. society. The mechanism of social control which perpetuate sexism also vary according to place location in the class structure. For example, in the U.S., a white upper-middle class women does not experience the same effects of sexual politics that a Black lower-class woman experiences. There is no way one can quantitatively measure the experiences.²⁶

Certain similarities tempt one to equate sexism and racism as variations of the same phenomenon. These similarities are most obvious when we consider the operational aspects of the ideologies. Both base their core argument on innate characteristics : (1) for racism, the criterion is physical-cultural differences, and (2) for sexism, physical differences is the criterion. Both ideologies justify social arrangements that perpetuate an unequal distribution of power : (1) in racism, privilege is granted to a select group of men and women, and (2) sexism grants privilege to men. Both have become institutionalized in U.S. society regardless of their contributions to social cohesiveness. Finally, the socialization

processes which reinforce these ideologies follows a similar pattern in learning proper status differentials regarding one's place location within the stratification system.

Conclusion :

Sexism and racism are two separate and distinct ideologies. They are qualitatively different and it is erroneous to equate the two and attempt to measure them quantitatively in a more or less situation. Theoretically, it is quite possible to have a society that is racist but not sexist, that is, equality may prevail regardless of sex, yet, groups would be relegated to positions of inequality on the basis of racial differences. Conversely, it is possible to have a society that is sexist but not racist. In such a society all males would be considered equal regardless of race or ethnic differences and all females would be considered equal to one another, but men would be considered the superiors of women.

U.S. society has a double dilemma in that race and sex as ideologies justify the social distribution of power. In the competition for scarce rewards and resources, we have women attempting to unify on the basis of sex and minorities (men and women) attempting to unify on the basis of race. The problem is that once the competition is segmented among various groups and sub-groups within groups (minority women), the group in the most powerful position continues to dominate the social structure. If we accept the premise that the two ideologies are separate and distinct, then the operational aspects are also distinct. The ending of social arrangements which perpetuate racism will not end social arrangements which perpetuate sexism and vice versa. If we assume that, ideally, the goal is to have a social arrangement whereby persons are not categorized on the basis of innate characteristics and that these characteristics predetermine their access to social rewards and resources, then we need to seriously examine how we can reorganize social institutions so that those who have privilege (whites and/or white men) will no longer be able to take advantage of their privilege. The difficulty in operationalizing such a reorganization is that we will be faced with a new dilemma, the need to justify retarding the potential of status achievement for some, while promoting privilege and access for others. Unfortunately, altruism is not a major value in our social milieu. Therefore, any attempt to reorganize social institutions

for the purpose of attaining equality in access to power regardless of sex and/or race will be met with dissatisfaction and conflict from some segment of the society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Emphasis on "the enemy" for various groups is expressed in the following selections. See : R. Acuna, *Occupied America: the Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation*, (San Francisco : Canfield Press, 1972) ; L.L. Knowles and K. Prewitt, *Institutional Racism in America*, (Englewood Cliffs : Prentice-Hall, 1969); A.M. Josephy (ed.), *Red Power : the American Indian's Fight for Freedom*, (New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971) ; and R. Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful*, (New York : Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, 1970).
2. For a discussion of the of interdependency racism and sexism, see : R. Dunbar, "Female liberation as the basis for social revolution," in Mary Lou Thompson, (ed.), *Voices of the New, Feminism*, (Boston : Beacon Press, 1970) p. 44—56 ; and F. Kennedy, "Institutionalized oppression vs. the female," in Robin Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful*, (New York : Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, 1970) p. 438—466.
3. For a discussion of minority women and the women's movement, see : N. Hare and J. Hare, "Black women 1970." *Transaction* 8 (November/December, 1970), p. 65 ; and L.J.M. La Rue, "Black liberation and women's lib." *Transaction* 8 (November/December, 1970), p. 59.
4. Newman defines racism as "..... any instance in which social beliefs and conduct based upon alleged racial differences are a major part of the stratification system in society." W. Newman, *American Pluralism*, (New York : Harper & Row, 1973), p. 276. Yetman and Steele incorporate power in their definition, i.e., "..... the most crucial component of racism is behavioral and implies the idea of differential power held by the dominant group." N. R. Yetman and C. H. Steele, *Majority-Minority : the Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Relations*, (Boston : Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), p. 362.
5. R. Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America*, (New York : Harper and Row, 1972). Knowles and Prewitt, *op. cit.*
6. D.L. Noel, "Slavery and the rise of racism," in Donald L. Noel (ed.), *The Origins of American Slavery and Racism*, (Columbus, OH : Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1972), p. 153—174.
7. Blauner, *op. cit.*
8. J. Higham, "Toward racism : the history of an idea," in Norman R. Yetman and C. Hoy Steele (eds.), *Majority-Minority the Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Relations*, (Boston : Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), p. 230—252. Noel, *op. cit.*

9. See especially, Noel, *op. cit.*, p. 156—158.
10. Higham, *op. cit.*, Noel, *op. cit.*
11. K. Millett, *Sexual Politics*, (Garden City, NY : Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970). J. Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, (New York : Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, 1974).
12. L. Kanowitz, *Women and The Law*, Albuquerque, NM : University of New Mexico Press, 1969), p. 35.
13. *Ibid.* Millett, *op. cit.*
14. C.C. Catt and N.R. Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), Kanowitz, *op. cit.*
15. *Ibid.* Millett, *op. cit.*, R. Reigel, *American Women*, (Rutherford, NJ : Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970).
16. A. Rossi, *The Feminist Papers*, (New York : Bantam Books, Inc., 1974).
17. Reigel, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
18. *Ibid.*, R.W. Smuts, *Women and Work in America*, (New York : Columbia University Press, 1959).
19. B. Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, (New York : Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 37.
20. *Ibid.*, *passim*.
21. Yetman and Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
22. Millett, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
23. See especially, La Rue, *op. cit.*
24. B. Braxton, *Women, Sex and Race*, (Washington D.C. : Verta Press, 1973).
25. E. Reed, "Women : caste, class or oppressed sex ?" in Evelyn Reed (ed.), *Problems of Women's Liberation*, (New York : Pathfinder Press, Inc., 1972).
26. For a discussion of qualitative differences, see : *Ibid.* ; A. Rossi, "Sex equality : the beginnings of ideology," in Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (ed.), *Toward a Sociology of Women*, (Lexington : Xerox College Publishing, 1972), p. 344—353.

Nineteenth-Century Feminism at Colorado's Land-Grant College

In 1877 Colorado's first General Assembly enacted legislation organizing an agricultural college at Fort Collins. The new institution was to function as

a high seminary of learning, in which...both sexes/could/pursue...a course of study, terminating in thorough theoretical and practical instruction in those sciences and arts which bear directly upon agriculture and kindred industrial pursuits.¹

The intent of this measure was that both men and women should attend the agricultural college. However, in explicitly including women the legislators were probably less motivated by democratic sentiments than by an inclination to emulate the established practice of other state agricultural colleges.²

Initially, the College's approach to coeducation also reflected some ambiguity. Should women be trained as farmers and engineers in the same way as men? Should their femininity be exalted by immersing them in a genteel liberal arts curriculum? Should they receive practical instruction consistent with prevailing assumptions regarding the woman's proper role? Ultimately, this issue was resolved by women themselves; an academic program emerged at Fort Collins which stressed more effective performance within a context of domestically-related endeavor. Essentially, the experience during the formative years of Colorado's land-grant college sustains Professor William L. O'Neill's view that feminist striving has followed a path inexorable linked to the home and the family.³

Following a term to prepare students for admission to its regular program, the school instituted college-level work in the winter of 1880. At first the College offered a single course of

stud , with slight modifications "to suit the wants of female students."⁴ Gradually, though, these modifications became increasingly important, Charles L. Ingersoll, president of the College from 1882 to 1891, apparently equated the liberal arts with proper education for young women. Consequently, he recommended instruction in music and art, and an elective permitting senior women to substitute a foreign language for classes in stock breeding and veterinary medicine.⁵

These recommendations were not implemented without some opposition, however. The governing board's curriculum committee, which consisted of three practical farmers, asserted that training in music and art should be reserved for persons with cultivated tastes in these fields. Moreover, while acknowledging that sexual differences might warrant some curricular modifications, the committee could not "see any impropriety in farmers' daughters having lectures on stock breeding or any other subject taught in this College."⁶ Nevertheless, beginning in 1883 junior and senior women were offered an elective in French and the opportunity to pursue music instruction on a subscription basis.⁷

Another indication of deference to female students occurred in 1885 when Elizabeth G. Bell joined the faculty. Miss Bell taught a wide variety of classes in history, literature, French, and German, thereby augmenting the identification of women with the liberal arts. In justifying the appointment President Ingersoll declared, with obvious Victorian satisfaction, "in my judgment an attendance of nearly fifty young ladies demands at least one lady instructor for the influence that ought to exert in the right direction and which male instructors cannot exert."⁸

The culmination of academic specialization for women during President Ingersoll's administration came in 1890-91 with the creation of a "Ladies' Course." This major, which provided juniors and seniors with a program of classes in drawing, stenography and typing, foreign languages, landscape gardening, and psychology ostensibly served the interests and needs of female students. Whether it actually did is debatable since it hardly promoted either significant intellectual development or thorough vocational training.⁹

Still, the College was attempting to acknowledge its women students, and the new course of study did resemble those available

at other land-grant institutions of higher learning. As yet the idea of permitting young ladies to pursue unfettered intellectual development in an academic setting was limited to a handful of eastern women's colleges. Moreover, the science of domestic economy had only begun to evolve as a viable option for female students. The "Ladies' Course" thus functioned as a temporary curricular expedient, recognizing the woman's presence on the college campus, but avoiding the issue of her purpose in American life.¹⁰

In its approach to coeducation, the State Agricultural College reflected a regard for what one historian has called, "The Cult of True Womanhood"—a view which characterized American women in terms of their unique virtue, piety, and domesticity.¹¹ President Ingersoll's successor, Alston Ellis, evinced an obvious adherence to this outlook when he declared :

I confess a desire to see a much greater number of young women enrolled in the College classes. They make good students and their presence acts as a strong moral force.¹²

Similar sentiments were expressed by Celia May Southworth, acting librarian and a recent alumna of the College. In describing the goals for which young women should strive, she said :

Every girl should have a higher ideal than marriage, for social rank or position. If her highest desire is to reach womanhood, perfectly developed, with body well nourished, hands well skilled, and mind and heart trained to perceive the true and the beautiful, she cannot fail.¹³

Such pristine impressions of womanhood influenced female students at the College, but not entirely. In 1893, the year that Celia Southworth espoused lofty ideals for her sex, suffragists waged a vigorous campaign in Colorado. Both sexes had contributed to the civilizing of this new western state, and "It was against a frontier background that the women of Colorado asked for equal suffrage." Although some women had participated in mining camp governments, their enfranchisement had been virtually ignored in the state constitution of 1876. Moreover, a referendum on this question had been rejected by male voters in 1877.¹⁴

Conditions of the 1890's, however, presented a distinctive, opportunity. Adverse economic developments, frustration over

the influence in Colorado of outside financial interests, and inertia and malfeasance by regular political party organizations, contributed to the emergence of a vital third party movement known as Populism. In the election of 1892, the Populists stormed into power, capturing the governor's office, a host of other state positions, and narrowly missing a majority in the General Assembly.¹⁵

A revitalized campaign for woman's suffrage in Colorado was linked to prevailing Populist sentiments of social justice, and Populist legislators led the way in instituting the 1893 referendum.¹⁶ Women also benefited from their increasingly significant role in the Colorado economy, a fact which may have contributed to organized labor's endorsement of the suffrage amendment. In 1880 females constituted but four percent of Colorado's total work force; by 1890 this count had risen to eleven percent.¹⁷ Whatever the reasons, the suffrage reform triumphed in 1893.

The campaign included arguments equating the woman's vote with a moral regeneration of politics. Certainly Celia Southworth subscribed to this position when she declared:

There is a vital principle now lacking in our government. This is the womanly quality which springs from the mother-heart. Let woman enter the sanctuary with her brother and aid in fashioning a government founded on eternal truth and justice.¹⁸

But this view, especially after the right to vote had been secured in November 1893, was tempered by some obvious practical considerations. One spokeswoman for a more realistic conception of female characteristics was Maude Bell, who in 1887 succeeded her sister Elizabeth as professor of history, literature, and languages at the College. Writing for *The Colorado Woman*, a liberal, feminist journal, Miss Bell asked:

If men do a large share of the world's thinking why is it? Is it because they have better brains, because their brains are more thoroughly trained, or because the family, the greatest invention of civilization, sends its men out into the world, to do its thinking, and leaves its women at home to do its loving?¹⁹

Then in answer to her own question she said :

Training certainly has much to do with this apparent difference. That attitude towards affairs and the opinions of others, which we call liberal mindedness and which makes men appear to much better advantage mentally than their sisters, is the result of the different social conditions surrounding the two sexes.²⁰

This insight into the possibility of different training for women would soon bear fruit in the form of improved and expanded educational opportunities for female students at the State Agricultural College.

A young woman who made the most of the school's initially limited academic offerings was Grace Espe Patton. Grace Patton was born in Hartstown, Pennsylvania, on October 5, 1866. Ten years later her family moved to Colorado and settled in Fort Collins where young Grace received most of her early academic training. At the age of fourteen she enrolled at the College, graduating in June 1885 with a B.S. degree.

Intelligent and outgoing, Miss Patton impressed her professors sufficiently to win a faculty appointment at the school, which she held from September 1885 until December 1896. During this period her principal responsibilities involved providing instruction in the Preparatory Department.

Concurrently, however, she pursued a variety of literary and political interests. About 1893 she established her own magazine, *The Tourney*, published in Fort Collins and "devoted to the discussion of sociological subjects." It dealt with such issues as "The Science of Money", "The Graded School System", and "Strikes in Our Railroad System", but stressed questions related to woman's rights.²¹

This cause meant a great deal to Grace Patton, and in January 1895, she moved her magazine, renamed the *Colorado Woman*, to Denver. The publication struck a responsive chord with the state's recently enfranchised female voters, and soon Professor Patton became an acknowledged power in Colorado politics. A forceful, magnetic speaker, she made numerous appearances before various women's groups and impressed them greatly with her intelligence, energy, and eloquence.

In 1895 Miss Patton became president of the Colorado Woman's Democratic Club and year later won her party's

nomination for the office of superintendent of public instruction. Political opponents tried to capitalize on her petite stature and girlish appearance by asserting that she was too young and inexperienced to occupy one of the state's most important offices. But "the little professor," as she came to be known, proved to be a formidable campaigner. She stumped the state and with a combination of wit and logic persuaded voters that her ideas about education deserved support. She scored a decisive victory in the November election.

As superintendent of public instruction, Miss Patton encouraged kindergartens and the establishment of libraries in Colorado's public schools. She also labored, with some success, to raise the qualifications of teachers. Her achievements served to demonstrate that Colorado's young women were deserving of expanded opportunities.²²

One person who clearly held this view was Eliza Pickrell Routt, the first woman appointed to the College's governing body, the State Board of Agriculture, and the wife of John L. Routt, governor of Colorado, 1875-79 and 1891-93. Orphaned at an early age and raised by her maternal grandparents, Eliza Pickrell was thirty-five years old at the time of her marriage to Routt, a forty-eight-year-old widower with five children. Routt was interested in governmental service, and as a result of his friendship with President Ulysses S. Grant, became territorial governor of Colorado in 1875. Following Colorado's elevation to statehood in 1876, he won three elections for the office of governor and amassed an enormous fortune as a mine owner and cattleman.²³

Mrs. Routt, like her husband a native of Illinois, developed an active interest in the affairs of Colorado. She participated enthusiastically in an unsuccessful campaign to institute woman's suffrage during 1877; supported charitable organizations, such as the Denver Orphan's Home Association; and helped to establish the Woman's Home Club, which provided inexpensive housing for working girls. She also served on the first Board of Trustees of Colorado Woman's College and developed an enviable reputation as a society hostess.

With the resurgence of female suffrage sentiment during the early 1890's, Mrs. Routt was elected president of the Denver Equal Suffrage League and toiled tirelessly on behalf of the referendum. Subsequent success inspired suffragists to demonstrate female

competence in state and local government, a goal which contributed to Mrs. Routt's appointment to the State Board of Agriculture.²⁴

Soon after Mrs. Routt began her association with the Board, in April 1895 she evinced an avid interest in academic programs particularly beneficial to young women. Nearly a year earlier, the College in response to repeated urgings of state agricultural organizations, had authorized a course of study in domestic economy.²⁵ Virtually nothing had been done to implement the decision.

At her first Board meeting on April 30, 1895, Mrs. Routt became chairwoman of a new standing committee on domestic economy and the library; and, immediately, this group concerned itself with establishing a domestic economy program. By 1895 a number of colleges had instituted such courses of study, and Mrs. Routt sought the benefit of their experience. The program of the Kansas State Agricultural College provided an especially useful model. Work in domestic economy had been pursued there since 1873, and as a result of correspondence with Professor Nellie S. Kedzie, superintendent of household economy and hygiene at Manhattan, Mrs. Routt was able to formulate a workable course of study.²⁶ The curriculum, which went into effect during the 1895-96 school year, included classes in home hygiene, household economics, nursing, sewing, kitchen management, the chemistry of cooking, and a Friday afternoon series of lectures on "anything that will aid in the development of a perfect womanhood." In addition, Mrs. Routt persuaded the Board to provide a building for domestic economy use.²⁷

The instructor called to oversee the new program was Theodosia G. Ammons. A native of North Carolina, she moved west with her family in 1871 and settled in Denver. As a woman she would take an active interest in politics, and her brother, Elias, would serve several terms in the General Assembly and one term as governor of Colorado. However, a child she displayed little interest in such activity. Soon after arriving in Denver she was supposedly asked by one of her playmates, "Is your father a Republican or a Democrat? Somewhat puzzled, Theodosia replied, "Neither, he's a Baptist."²⁸

Miss Ammons graduated from the Arapahoe Street School in Denver in 1883, became a public school teacher, and pursued

college-level studies at the universities of Denver and Colorado. During the early 1890's she became involved in the woman suffrage movement and worked closely with Eliza Routt on behalf of the 1893 referendum. Her association with Mrs Routt subsequently led to her appointment as the State Agricultural College's first professor of domestic economy.²⁹

Theodosia Ammons shared Eliza Routt's concern for providing young women with the best possible educational opportunities. However, because the instructor lacked formal academic preparation for her new position, she initially had to draw upon her own home training and whatever information could be obtained by correspondence and observation. Miss Ammons' mother had strongly emphasized the importance of ladylike decorum, personal cleanliness, and the ability to cook well. Knowledge derived from her father's keen interest in medicine was reflected in a home nursing course which included such topics as, "Should the Germ Theory be very deeply studied by students?" and "Does the Germ Theory spoil one's view of life?" The latter class featured presentations by guest lecturers, including physicians and nurses.

Professor Ammons gleaned information about her field by writing to and visiting schools with established programs in domestic economy.³⁰ However, domestic economy had not yet achieved the status of a bonafide academic discipline. The training of hand and eye received considerable emphasis as did the belief that household skills held an intrinsic value. Still, some appreciations for the development of a sound scientific background was beginning to emerge. Isabel Bevier has noted :

much of woman's early work in chemistry was a more or less indefinite playing with test tubes in which one of three results was expected—a beautiful color, a bad odor, or an explosion. She was not long in discovering that her brother took chemistry and bacteriology...because he expected to use this knowledge later in his work with soil or in the dairy.. (Women) realized later that the laws of heat could be illustrated by the kitchen range quite as adequately as by the steam engine, that the life history of bacteria could be studied in many household processes, and that the chemistry of food was in many cases better suited to their needs.³¹

Miss Ammons evidently recognized this trend for, after joining the faculty, she devoted considerable time to taking courses in chemistry and other scientific subjects.³²

Girls enrolled in the domestic economy program soon developed an appreciation for the professional competence and personal generosity of their instructor. To Miss Ammons teaching was a full-time activity. During her years at the College, the Department of Domestic Economy became a center for social activity. Professor Wattles has observed that "A week without meals served for guests seems to have been the exception." Miss Ammons was constantly involved in supervising a variety of entertainments, including a birthday celebration for President Ellis, dinners for members of the faculty, receptions for visiting groups, or the memorable George Washington Day Break-fast. The latter became an annual event and featured girls attired in Martha Washington costumes ; a hall decorated with flags, flowers, drums, and eagles ; and menus printed on tiny hatchets.³³

These festivities provided social diversion and highly practical training. Girls gained valuable experience in planning, decorating, cooking, and serving. All students developed an enhanced understanding of social etiquette. An occasional male undergraduate might poke fun at Miss Ammons and her program, as one did by scratching the following poem on the kitchen blackboard in the Domestic Economy Building :

We may live on our friends,

We may live selling books,

But where is the man

Who could live with your cooks ?³⁴

However, such joking was good-humored, and there were few young men at the College who did not welcome the hospitality offered by Professor Ammons and the girls of her department.³⁵

Under the direction of Professor Ammons, and with the continuous support of Eliza Routt, work in domestic economy grew steadily from 1895 on. Mrs. Routt's role was evident as she strove to invest the new teaching position with the fullest possible prestige, including immediate professorial rank for Miss Ammons; a salary comparable to that of other department heads ; and in 1902, the title, Dean of Woman's Work. Furthermore, Mrs. Routt secured additional faculty for the program, and after leaving

the Board in 1907, helped to obtain a new building for home economics work at the College.³⁶

Meanwhile, the department improved the variety and quality of academic instruction. During 1903-1908, a normal course was added to train teachers and administrators for domestic science work in the public schools. Nineteen hundred and four featured the start of extension short courses, which, within five years, were offered in towns throughout Colorado.³⁷ Also, although the primary focus of her program was to enhance the efficiency and fulfillment of young women as homemakers, Miss Ammons appreciated the fact women were a part of the real world. As a committed suffragist, she had fought for the principle of sexual equality. Consequently, she deliberately exposed her girls to modern social realities by conducting tours of hospitals, factories, sanitariums, insane asylums, and similar institutions.³⁸

Women like Theodosia Ammons, Eliza Routt, Grace Patton, and Maude Bell were representative of feminist striving in Colorado and elsewhere during the 1890's. They sought tangible recognition of woman's competence, and definitely influenced the kind of education that emerged for young women at Colorado's land grant college. However, it is important to note that their goals were deeply rooted in a domestically oriented value system. Their ambitions were tempered by the acceptance of some obvious limitations. Maude Bell observed that environmental conditions determined differences in the intellectual proclivities of men and women, yet she acknowledged the family as "the greatest invention of civilization." Grace Patton evinced assertiveness and competence in organizing a feminist journal and successfully challenging the traditionally male realm of politics. However, as Colorado's superintendent of public instruction, her principal concerns involved providing children with an optimal educational experience. Eliza Routt and Theodosia Ammons campaigned to actualize woman's suffrage, then cooperated to develop a practical academic program for women at the State Agricultural College. Practicality, though, was equated with enhancing a college girl's domestic skills. In observing the nature of feminism as a response to modern conditions Professor O'Neill has noted:

It now appears that the unrest of women is directly related to those fundamental institutions, monogamy and the conjugal family, that the Victorian world was so determined to preserve.

In theory women today are free to do as they please ; in practice, their heavy obligations as wives and mothers prevent them from exercising the rights they nominally enjoy ³⁹

During its formative years Colorado's land-grant college reflected an obvious affinity for the Victorian ideal.

FOOTNOTES

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24. Helen Cannon, "First Ladies of Colorado—Eliza Pickrell Routt," *Colorado Magazine*, LX (January 1963), pp. 49—56.
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28. Ruth Jocelyn Wattles, "The Mile High College" (manuscript, 1945), p. 90 ; Miss Wattles was able to fashion a biographical sketch of Theodosia Ammons by drawing upon reminiscences and family papers of Mrs. J. E. McLaughlin of Boulder, a sister of Miss Ammons.
29. Woman's suffrage was a cause of on-going concern to Miss Ammons,

for in 1902, she represented Colorado as a delegate to the National Convocation of Woman's Suffrage in Washington, D. C. Wattles, "Mile High College," p. 91; Faculty Record, IV, 64.

30. Wattles, "Mile High College," pp. 90—94.
31. As quoted in Eddy, *Colleges for our Land and Time*, p. 91.
32. Wattles, "Mile High College," p. 92.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 124—26; see also the "Social Notes" column of the *RMC*, 1895—1907.
34. *RMC*, April 1897, p. 94.
35. See "Social Notes" column of the *RMC*, 1895—1907.
36. This building, completed in 1910, was donated by Senators Simon Guggenheim of Colorado, a prominent politician and industrialist; Cannon, "Eliza Pickrell Routt," p. 53; see also SBOA "Record," II 499—500, 566—67, 588, 644.
37. *RMC*, December, 11, 1909, pp 3—4.
38. *Fort Collins Courier*, May 29, 1907, p. 7.
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Organizing the Teachers : Women Activists in the Progressive Era

In 1903 the editor of the most influential school periodical in the United States wrote that the teachers of Chicago had wielded a greater influence than teachers had ever previously effected as a class. The "unprecedented" achievements which so impressed A. E. Winship of the *Journal of Education* were those of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, an organization which claimed a membership of 4000 of the city's 6000 classroom teachers. Significantly, Winship noted that the Federation's triumphs were secured by women who "have had a proportionate influence heretofore unknown.....".¹

The CTF represented a new form of teacher organization. It differed from both the state and national associations whose major activities were their annual meetings and the local literary and discussion societies to which teachers politely belonged. Administrators were excluded ; women teachers from the grade schools comprised the membership. The Federation was a purposive organization which gave particular emphasis to the material welfare of its members. Improved salaries a secure pension system and tenure were the specific conditions necessary to fulfill the organization's primary objective—"to raise the standard of the teaching profession".²

As a pioneer in the movement to organize teachers, the successes of the Chicago Teachers' Federation provided inspiration to women teachers throughout the country. Through a flurry of organizational activity during the first twenty years of this century, organizations of grade teachers were established in the cities including Chicago, New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. These local

groups established a nation association, the National League of Teacher Associations, in 1912, thereby illustrating the sequential pattern of professionalization moving from the local to the national level. By 1915 this association, limited to organizations of exclusively classroom teachers, had grown from the original twenty-two member clubs to more than sixty.³

The same forces which encouraged the formation of this National League were also working for reform within the confines of the National Education Association. Described as an organization "of, by and for administrators only" since its founding in 1857, the N.E.A. gradually began to respond to the pressures of organized women grade teachers.⁴ Results included the creation of a commission study on teachers' salaries, pensions and tenure in 1903, the inclusion of Margaret A. Haley, the leader of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, as a speaker at the general session of the 1904 convention on the topic, "Why Teachers Should Organize", the election of the Association's first woman. Chicago's Superintendent of Schools Ella Flagg Young, to the presidency at Boston in 1910, and the establishment of a Department of Classroom Teachers, limited to grade teachers below the college level, in 1913. Through such changes, the organized teachers hoped to be able to enlarge their influence. Ideally, the National League offered a mechanism for external pressure while the Department of Classroom Teachers could be utilized to encourage reform from within. Both the League and the Department were viewed as potential forums for bringing the concerns of the grade school teachers to the educational profession and the public.

A variation on this theme of an emerging sense of professional identity was represented by the formation of yet another national organization. The American Federation of Teacher was organized in Chicago during the spring of 1916. The Chicago Teachers' Federation was chartered as Local Number One; its women members constituted more than half of the initial membership of 2969 reported by this new affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. During the inflationary period at the end of World War I the A. F. T. grew rapidly, and 130 locals had been chartered with membership reported in excess of ten thousand by the summer of 1920.⁵

With the challenge of this new rival, the N.E.A. responded through a series of reforms which included a structural reorganiza-

tion and a vigorous membership drive. This campaign focused on the lack of professionalism inherent in the union approach, a theme which corresponded with declining union sentiment in the 1920s. By 1922, the N.E.A. claimed more than 100,000 members; meanwhile, membership in the A.F.T. was falling below 4000.⁶ While the significance of this associational activity may be subject to various interpretations, it seems clear that a growing sense of professional consciousness had been stimulated during the early years of the twentieth century. Teachers were becoming increasingly aware of their occupational identity and, in large measure, this awareness derived from the activities of organized women from the classrooms of city schools.

Three major themes supported this organizational activity. These include the impact of urbanization on the schools, the "feminization" of the teaching force, and the professionalization of the occupation. In combination, these themes provide the background for an understanding of the movement to organize women classroom teachers.

With broad public acceptance of popular education established in the middle years of the nineteenth century, the emergence of industrial, urban America inevitably embodied the growth of large urban school systems. By way of example, Chicago's population more than doubled from approximately one million in 1850 to over three million by the mid-1920s. The school population increased even more drastically, from 120,000 to more than 500,000. The school system in 1926 was composed of 301 elementary schools, 25 secondary schools and one normal school.⁷ Such complex systems demanded specialization by function; increasingly the schools were bureaucratized. Administrators, high school teachers, and grade school teachers developed differentiated roles with the latter group making up the vast majority of those employed.

The feminization of the schools accompanied the growth of the nation's system of public education. A steady trend which began during the Jacksonian period saw the composition of the teaching force shift from predominantly male to predominantly female. Several factors including increased educational opportunities for women, the impact of the Civil War, the development of the grade system, and differential salary expectations contributed to the emergence of the school ma'am. American women responded as school teaching became the major avenue for professional oppor-

tunity. The spirit of the pattern was captured in the introduction to a 1908 teachers' manual: "If any of the readers should wonder why the feminine gender of the pronoun has been used when referring to a teacher, let them remember that eighty-four percent of the teachers now in the public schools of our state are women."⁸ Nationally, the number of male teachers declined from 125,525 in 1890 to 95,654 in 1920 while women teachers increased from 238,397 to 583,648 or 85% of the total. Percentages of women teachers were highest at the elementary level; estimates placed the figure at 97% in the Chicago schools in 1903.⁹

Social scientists and historians continue to clarify the definition of profession. Joseph Ben-David considers professions to have "a set of characteristics which are in different degrees present in an increasing number of occupations". Another sociologist Richard Hall, describes professionalization as the movement toward a professional model which he describes in terms of two categories: structural and attitudinal. The structural attributes refer to the occupation becoming a full-time vocation, establishing training schools, forming professional associations, and developing a code of ethics. Attitudinal attributes include the use of the professional association as a major reference, a belief in service to the public, a commitment to self-regulation, a sense of calling, and a feeling of autonomy. A recent ad placed by a corporation in the *Wall Street Journal* captured this attitudinal aspect when it announced: "Professionalism-more than education...more than experience...more than training it's a state of mind."¹⁰

The Chicago Teachers' Federation embodied these themes of urbanization, feminization and professionalization. The increased social complexity of urban life encouraged the trend of extending the school year, thereby making teaching a full-time vocation. Increasing specialization of function within a growing school system brought teachers with mutual interests together in the grade school buildings of the city. In 1897, the women teachers of Chicago formed a new organization to help protect the pension system enacted two years earlier. Two issues were of concern. One of these was the financial solvency of the fund, the other was a revision proposed by men principals. Their proposal would place men and women on an equal basis by requiring 25 years of service for eligibility. The women defended the special status they had been

given under the 1895 law with the provision that enabled them to receive a pension following 20 years of service.¹¹ Thus, this special concern of women classroom teachers prompted the development of a new form of professional organization.

In contrast to the service-respectability ideal presented by speakers at meetings of the National Education Association, the CTF's explicit aim for raising the standards of the profession was "to secure for all teachers the rights and privileges to which they are entitled". Moving from a defense of the pension system, the Chicago teachers shifted attention to the salary issue. The federation provided the structural component of the professional model; its goals and activities were addressed to the attitudinal dimension. With the organization serving as the vehicle for change and the referent group for the teachers, improvement in standards of living, job security and a greater role in the workings of the schools, would elevate this "rag-tag and bobtail of the professions" by enhancing attitudes of autonomy and self-respect.¹²

The quest for higher salaries brought the Chicago Teachers Federation national acclaim. Led by Margaret A. Haley, a sixth grade teacher from the stockyards district, the Chicago teachers discovered that major corporations in the city were successfully evading taxes on their franchises. Armed with evidence, the teachers took five major utility and street railway companies to court and won the case. The resulting reassessment added approximately \$600,000 annually to the city. The national monthly, *Review of Reviews*, reported that "a very great lesson lies in the fact that this splendid triumph over hideous fraud and corruption has now been carried through.. by energetic women school teachers".¹³

While the teachers' tax fight eventually secured higher salaries, its greater importance was in bringing the organized teachers into municipal affairs. Margaret Haley and the president of the CTF, Catherine Goggin both left the classroom to devote their full energies to the Federation. Goggin offered an example of calm and dignity during the early years. As business manager, her co-worker, Margaret Haley, provided the drive and vital energy which maintained the Federation until her death in January, 1939. During the tax fight, Haley brought the concerns of the teachers to women's clubs, civic organizations, church groups, and labor unions. She became familiar with the organizational structure of

the city and with the major social issues confronting the people of Chicago. The success of the tax fight brought fame to Margaret Haley. In the following years, she spoke to groups throughout the state and nation on the subjects of tax reform, teacher organization, and women's suffrage. When Governor Dunne signed the Illinois suffrage law in 1913, Margaret Haley was at his side and he indicated that it was her example of civic activism which convinced him of the legitimacy of the vote for women.

Following the tax fight, the CTF made another critical decision in 1902 when the members voted to affiliate with the Chicago Federation of Labor. In defending this action, Margaret Haley spoke of the revitalization of democracy which could be accomplished by coordinated efforts of labor, teachers, and women's clubs.¹⁴ Examples of this were shown the following year when the Illinois Legislature enacted child labor and compulsory education bills and defeated another attempt to centralize the administration of the Chicago schools.

The organized teachers worked hard to secure legislation for an elected school board. Under existing Illinois law, women had the right to vote in school elections. Thus, an elected school board for Chicago would further the cause of women's suffrage and enhance the political influence of the CTF. Efforts to secure this reform coincided with the movement for municipal ownership of street railways. The election of Edward F. Dunne in 1905 brought to mayor's office a man sympathetic to progressive reform. Dunne's appointments to the school board were unprecedented in that the first three of his seven appointees were women: Jane Addams, Dr. Cornelia de Bey, and Mrs. Anita Blaine McCormick. His 'silent' advisor on school affairs was, of course, Margaret Haley. The Dunne school board was immediately surrounded by controversy and offered Jane Addams an experience in practical politics which she painfully recorded in her book, *Twenty Years at Hull House*. School tensions were eased in 1909 when a new board selected a long-time Chicago school administrator, Ella Flagg Young to the superintendency. Mrs. Young was the first woman to fill such a position in a city school system; her belief in teacher participation in school decisions endeared her to the organized teachers.

This period of calm in school affairs established by Mrs. Young gave way in 1915 to an open attack on the Chicago Teachers' Federation. A new board, under the administration of

Mayor William Thompson, passed a resolution denying teachers the right to belong to any organization affiliated with trade unions or employing business agents. When the Loeb rule was applied in 1916, sixty-eight teachers were ousted. Thirty-eight of them, including all eight of its officers, were members of the Federation. Critics of the CTF portrayed its members as "lady labor sluggers" in stark contrast to the professional ideal of the "school ma'am". Eventually, this conflict was settled with the teachers restored a year later, a tenure law enacted, the school administration and board reorganized, and the CTF affiliation with organized labor including the newly-formed American Federation of Teachers abandoned.¹⁵

In conclusion, this paper has surveyed the activities of organized class-room teachers during the early years of the twentieth century. The focus has been on the most successful of those city associations, the Chicago Teachers Federation. The influence of this organization on local affairs and its impact on the evolution of the national teacher movement has been traced. More importantly the paper calls attention to the important contributions women made in the development of professionalism in American education. Further, it introduces the challenging subject of the role of women in the occupational structures of this nation, an important field of study in which significant research opportunities abound.

FOOTNOTES

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13. *American Monthly Review of Reviews* (December, 1901), pp. 656-657.
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Women in Education

The history of humankind reflects dreams, aspirations, expectations as well as the limitations superimposed on them by tradition, custom, myth and superstition. These limitations are created by persons and inherited by succeeding generations. Prejudice, superstition, and belief systems that limit individual freedom reflect the socio cultural environment, itself comprised of many conflicting and competing forces. This environment often serves to perpetuate unnecessary and unjust limitations to human freedom through various self interests, and preservation of existing, self perpetuating social systems.

One of the restrictions thus placed on humankind has been the limitations on women. Historically, Aristotle felt women were not whole, but somehow less than man. Rousseau felt women were more in the realm of sex objects than intellectual equals. The Classical-Christian tradition placed focus and emphasis on authority and responsibility. Such emphasis came to delineate the role and function of man in society. He was to become the source of absolute dominion and authority first to be seen in the priesthood, an early symbol of rule, power and intellectual prowess. With the advent of Darwin's theory of evolution the stage was set for a focus on rights of individuals. William James, John Dewey and others began to write of individual and social responsibility toward an expanded consciousness of social justice. Their writings caused a reform movement in education. This reform movement was reflected in expanded social consciousness in the Western World and particularly in the United States. The quest for rights of minorities has been followed by the quest for rights of women as a banner of enhancing the position of both within the social order.

The human use of human beings, a message of the existentialists, seeks to enlarge the opportunity for human interaction,

self expression is increasingly recognized. The federal government has taken a lead in the United States in providing for equality of opportunity in education, employment and citizenship.

The myths that have historically limited the freedom of women in society are fast being laid to rest. Thus is provided a new dimension of potential and a possibility for honest open mutual self respect and communication between men and women within an open and pluralistic society. The self imposed limitations to physical and mental ability have been proven unfounded and unwarranted.

A common assumption is that women have been given opportunities to succeed and grow in the education profession. While there have been individual women who have achieved fame and distinction as educators, however, women in education have been as discriminated against as in the fields of engineering, medicine and science.

One needs only to be reminded that it was over 200 years after Harvard opened its doors in 1636 before women were admitted to the first coeducational institution in 1837 at Oberlin. Even then it was predicted that with the advent of women in college, morals would decline due to the daily contact of young men with young women. Women's bodies were believed unable to stand the arduous strain of higher education. The myth that even if women's bodies and minds could adapt to rigors of education, such activities would cause them to lose their childbearing capacities or desires, and destroy the human race, was accepted.

Thus, historical limitations have led to over 200 years of exclusion of women from education. It is only in the last 150 years that women have gained access to education. This access has too often been limited to accepted roles such as teaching.

Although there were female teachers in colonial days, teaching in the United States was for the most part a man's occupation. The Industrial Revolution led to potential male teachers' moving to business and factories where the pay was better and in most cases it still is.

Elementary and Secondary Education

In the early days of the Republic there were many families who believed that their girls should have the rudiments of an

education. In the Massachusetts Bay Colony there were Dame Schools in which boys and girls together learned reading, writing and arithmetic. These schools were conducted either by widows or spinster ladies to eke out an existence. It has only been since 1945 that education began to pay anything approaching a professional wage. This was, therefore, a field which was not eagerly pursued by men. When the wages began to improve, men began to be more interested in it.

Those men who did teach were not paid at the same rate as women. Most all school systems in the United States had several salary schedules. For instance, there would be a separate salary schedule for elementary and secondary teachers, the latter being paid at a higher rate. Since most of the women were in elementary teaching and more men in secondary, this obviously meant that women were paid less. Also, those who were married very frequently had a higher salary schedule than those who were not; since it was considered unseemly for married women with spouses in the home to work, this too was a discriminatory measure. Not until the 1940's did teachers themselves begin a push toward equal pay for equal work. Men and women teachers began to demand a single salary schedule for all teachers within a school system from superintendents and school boards. The interest in a single salary scale has increased opportunity for better treatment of women in education.

Because the profession of education has in this century been often considered by women as something "to fall back on," either prior to marriage or as something one could take up at a future date, there has tended to be a secondary role for women within school systems. Now that the nation seems to have arrived at a no growth state, the almost unlimited expansion of the field has finally come to a halt. For the first time there seem to be many more teachers being produced for the public sector than can be absorbed although there are exceptions in the sciences, mathematics, and geography. The field does not provide the security or employment opportunities that it has in the past which is detrimental to women's effort for greater participation in education.

It has long been felt that it would be good to attract more males to the field of elementary education. Jean Dresden Grambs¹ noted that in 1965 only 12.1% of elementary teachers were men. In a report two years later by Bonn² it was reported that 31% of

the teachers were men but most were employed to teach on the secondary level. As late as 1970, nine out of ten elementary teachers were female.³

Since this nation is moving in a new direction of many single parents, there has been considerable concern expressed that those children coming from fatherless homes need greater exposure to male adults. Yet a strong pattern of discrimination against men in elementary schools seems to exist even today. John Johnston⁴, writing in *Childhood Education*, noted that not only is there a lack of male teachers in the elementary grades, but many that are available are not hired. He reported a major midwestern city has an ordinance which prohibits placement of male teachers in a grade lower than three: one school system indicated hiring a male kindergarten teacher would be considered a poor publicity risk.

Ramon Murgatoryd⁵ wrote:

Among many interviews only one district would hire me as a first grade teacher. ... Other superintendents and principals merely smiled at my desire to work with six year olds, or offered hasty excuses and changed the subject. One man gave me some confidential advice. He said he would like to place me in a higher grade but was not sure of an opening, but suggested that in future interviews it would be better not to mention first grade.

Therefore, it would appear that when the subject of discrimination is approached it needs to be remembered at the outset that it applies to more than just females.

When it comes to what is seen by most people as moving up the academic ladder, the verdict has been unanimously against women. For instance, while nearly 80% of elementary teachers have been women, only a small percentage of elementary principals are women. Kathryn Circincione-Coles⁶ has indicated that women are less preferred than men as principals because men teachers prefer working for male principals. This would not be a very good reason at the elementary level since most of the teachers are female. The author further indicates that a study by Newell⁷ found female elementary school principals more aware of the cognitive factor of the learning process than male administrators. Barter⁸ found that a group of teachers rated female and male principals equal in personal qualifications and ability.

The result of these studies indicated that women teachers seemed to approve of women principals more than did men teachers, but that those males who had taught in schools administered by women were more favorable toward them than males who had not.

Suzanne Taylor⁹ in her 1971 doctoral dissertation found that when it comes to superintendents there might as well be a sign hung out which says, "Women need not supply." While 13% of the advanced degrees awarded in education administration and supervision go to women (this is 13% of the doctorates awarded to women in education while 20% of the total doctorates in education are awarded to women) nothing like even 13% of the superintendents in the country are women ; as of this writing there are only two. That is two in round numbers, not in percentages ! And when superintendents are hiring other women administrators very few women are appointed as principals. Men have been encouraged to get masters degrees and doctorates in administration whereas women have not been encouraged to train or apply for administrative jobs. Dr. Taylor⁹ found that "the only factor which appeared to have any significance on the hiring process was that of sex. The other variables age, type of position, length of experience, size of the school district.. did not have any valid correlation with the hiring process."

A study team from the University of Florida-Kellogg, which had almost all men, tried to isolate qualities of good and poor principal behavior. The group concluded that women displayed more democratic qualities than men and were better in their administrative practices.¹⁰ When a similar study was done only 12 months later the results were so astonishing that the researchers rechecked their work, but here too the results were favorable to women. And finally, a third study done on a nationwide basis also bore out the Florida findings that women had more qualities of leadership than did men.¹¹

Helen Morsink¹² found that men had more tolerance for freedom but women were better in speaking and acting as representatives of groups, more persuasive, gave greater emphasis to production and did a better job of getting along with superiors.

Another item discovered by Dr. Taylor was that women on boards of education led to more women administrators being hired.¹³

More than 98.6% of high school principals are male according to Kathryn Circincione-Coles¹⁴ and while 99.5% of superintendents are male, 97% of the deputy-associate and assistant superintendents are also male. Fewer than 10% of school board members are women and while women dominate in public school education in terms of numbers of teachers, males nevertheless dominate teacher organizations. No wonder when 95% of the faculty and approximately 92% of the student population in departments of education administration are male.

Public school education may be dominated by women but not at the top.¹⁵

Higher Education :

From 1900 to the present, there has been a relative decline in long-term high level careers for women in education. After considerable attention to careers that was a part of the women's suffrage movement in the late part of the last century there appeared to be a voluntary shift in preferences. This led from the single minded purposefulness of a career to married life with either low-level skill work or no work at all.

As university and college professorships became more desirable to men, women felt less welcome in this marketplace. Early in American history those who first taught at Harvard and the later so called high prestige institutions, did so because they could not obtain pastorates.

Particularly downgrading to the idea of any kind of career was the pervasive attitude following World War II when women, if not willingly, at least quietly, returned to their homes and saw themselves, after having been in the factories and schools letting men return to their "rightful" places in the economic scheme of things. Women went back to the low-level jobs of domestic service, table waitressing and lower level non-union jobs because there still were some 25 to 40% who had to work in order to survive or stay out of debt.

The time, effort and cost of obtaining top-level training have been steadily rising. Forty years ago, not more than 4 years were required to get a medical degree. Today it takes 7, 8, or 9 depending on the specialty. Sixty years ago women earned their Ph.D.'s in three years beyond the bachelor's. Today it is averaging five to six.

According to a survey conducted by Betty Schantz¹⁶ seventy-eight of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education indicated that women were more frequently employed in teacher education than in higher education except at the professor rank where women and men in teacher education institutions had almost equal percentages. Dr. Schantz had solicited responses from 100 institutions. Her findings were similar to all of those which have been done previously, for she found that the largest numbers of women have college teaching jobs at the lower faculty ranks everywhere in higher education, in spite of the fact that in teacher education institutions the proportion of women to men is higher in all ranks when compared to all other collegiate faculties. Both public and private universities had the lowest level of employment of women at the professor level. In private universities 5.6% of those at the professor level were women, ranging to a high of 31.7% in all ranks of teacher education institutions both public and private. Only at the instructor level do women approach half of the faculty achieving 40.6% of the instructor positions at public universities, and a similar percentage at all types of higher education institutions, compared with 6.6% of the professors at these same types of institutions.¹⁷

Eighty-five percent of those responding said they had affirmative action programs; of the 78 institutions, 7 had women presidents; 21 had women department chairpersons; 90% claimed representation on administrative councils; and 83% had women on their boards of trustees.¹⁸ The foregoing is the good news. The bad news is that all but four institutions said they paid women with equal credentials *less than* men when initially hiring, but 99% reported that there were no differences in sex regarding teaching responsibilities, promotion or tenure. This affirms what has been readily shown over the years, that the farther up the academic ladder women progress the wider the disparities become. This is because they begin unequally.¹⁹

Dr. Schantz²⁰ further found that over 50% of those responding indicated that women were adequately represented in their total staffs, the number of women ranging from 1 to 60%. Further indication of the problems is the April 5, 1976, issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*²¹ in which a survey of teaching faculty conducted by the American Council on Education in 1972-73 was reported. The results recently have been analyzed by

M. Elizabeth Tidball, professor of Physiology at George Washington University. She studied the responses from more than 200 educational institutions of various types. She found that male and female teachers were more supportive of students of their own sex, and since there are more male faculty members, male students get more support than do female. Male faculty members seemed unconcerned about discrimination and antinepotism. This indicated that the men not only are more sympathetic toward their male students but they are also not in tune with the issues of concern either to women students or to female colleagues. While faculty are more supportive of students of their own sex, female faculty are less able to be of help than their male counterparts because the female faculty members' own self esteem is quite low. This is primarily because they are at the lower ranks and without tenure. In spite of affirmative action they have salaries less than those of men at every rank. Women students receive the greatest support at women's colleges. About 45% of the faculty at these institutions are women, and they have considerably higher self images than do faculty women in general, particularly those serving in universities and co-ed colleges. It is also at the female institutions that male professors are more aware of issues of concern to women. Abolition of nepotism regulations was of interest to 34% of the women at private institutions and up to 57% of those in men's colleges. Among the men the range of interest in nepotism issue was 19% of the men at men's colleges to 33% of the male faculty at women's colleges.²²

Women who rate themselves highest of all in self esteem were found at men's colleges and private universities where male faculty also rated themselves as much more successful than other men. Women at these institutions said they were most successful when comparing themselves both to men and women in their fields.²³ They are probably right in this measure of self esteem as they had to achieve a measure beyond any average in order to be teaching at these institutions.

The Women's Equity Action League has been very active in filing formal charges of sex discrimination since the signing of Presidential Executive Order 11246 which is supposed to prevent discrimination in employment by any institutions, educational or otherwise, doing more than \$50,000 worth of business or receiving more than \$50,000 from the government in any one year. When

one considers that 90% of the men with doctorates and 20 years of experience in academia are full professors but barely half of the women with the same credentials are at the top level, one knows that WEAL will be busy for some time to come. The WEAL fact sheet²⁴ also discloses that women account for 30% of the doctoral candidates in sociology but only 14% of the assistant professors, 9% of the associate professors and 4% of the professors. It was found at Columbia University that 36% of those who received Ph.D.'s in psychology from that institution were women but never had a woman been employed in the department as a faculty person.

There is not complete agreement on the publication records of men and women in academia, some studies showing that women publish somewhat less, others showing that they publish somewhat more. Most studies indicate that women doctorate holders have somewhat greater academic ability than their male counterparts. This is perhaps accounted for by the greater self-selectivity which has taken place among women in the past, e.g. only those at the very highest level apply as only they would be accepted, whereas men of somewhat lesser ability could find places in graduate schools.

A study by Michelle Hernan and William Sedlacek²⁵ at the University of Maryland further bears out the attitude found in the material mentioned in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. These researchers found that men students were surprised and sometimes angry at seeing women in men's accustomed places, believed that men do a better job with power than women and are more likely to hold it, continued to see women as sex objects and seemed to feel that "at the present time it is socially desirable... to be intolerant to changing sex roles."²⁶

Although role modeling can be a very dangerous profession it is certainly well known that low goal aspirations among women are likely to be the result of lack of successful female role models. Since male faculty are mostly interested in passing on to their disciples their knowledge and skill and because they pick as their disciples men with whom they can identify, this means that only women who buy the male value system and work within it can be assured of even minimal success. Ruth Hawkins²⁷ has further found that women of commitment and independence are seen as "unfeminine bitches" by male faculty while women student

who merely do their work and are unassertive are described as "lacking ambition". It is in this area once again that the women's colleges have been superior. Those attending these institutions have achieved academic records superior to the women in co-ed schools, on the basis of persistence, the proportion going on to graduate school, and the proportion receiving the Ph.D.²⁸ Tidball²⁹ found that married graduates of women's colleges were three times as likely to be successful in their careers as their co-educational counterparts.

In addition to the problems of admissions and persistence among graduate women other areas which have been particularly troublesome for women have been the requirement that only full-time students may receive financial aid. Child care is another very great restriction for women. Residence requirements have also been more disadvantageous to women than to men.

Women also need to be familiarized with the "old boy" method of hiring. When a position opens in an institution a male professor has traditionally called his male friends at other institutions, most often at his own Ph.D. granting institution. He asks for names of people to fill the position. This means that he receives the lists of those who are about to receive their Ph.D.'s as well as those who have become disenchanted where they are and ask their old chairman to help them locate jobs. This has meant women were omitted from the hierarchy of placement because the "old boys" have generally recommended men in their own image which perpetuates the system. While the omissions have not always been deliberate or even conscious, women were simply not included in this network of communication. There was one instance in which some faculty women called a well known institution and asked for recommendations of women completing the doctorate degree in a particular field, the people doing the calling being aware of a particularly outstanding female candidate that year. Those calling were discouraged from seeking a female and were told that the department did not have any. Some institutions tell an applicant that though their qualifications are excellent, HEW is requiring them to hire a woman or a member of an ethnic minority. Sometimes it is a deliberate lie, sometimes it is a misunderstanding, sometimes it is gutless because the person does not wish to say that other people were better qualified. Affirmative action does not require hiring

anyone, it requires the widest possible advertising of openings and selection from the best qualified.

Another practice appeared briefly in which women or minority groups received letters thanking them for applying for positions for which they had not applied. This enabled institutions to put carbon copies of the letter in a folder to satisfy the federal government that they had indeed looked and it also helped maintain the status quo. This practice was quickly discovered when a young assistant law dean, knowing she was not ready for the deanship of a prestigious law school, returned a letter of rejection to the sender saying she had not made application for that deanship so it was no wonder she had not received the position. She sent a copy to the Civil Rights Division of HEW. Another deliberate method of not playing the game fairly is the practice of hiring women with only masters degrees so that when tenure time arrives it can be said that they are not qualified.

While it is frequently said that qualified women are not available there are about 20,000 women scientists with doctorates in United States. While this number is small, one is frequently led to believe that it is more nearly 20 than 20,000, when the laments of "there are no qualified women to be found" are so widely heard.

Maintaining credibility is one of the areas which has been a problem for female faculty members. Like the men at the University of Maryland, it has been shown that material presented to students by a woman is considered less convincing, less authoritative and less valid than the same kind of material presented by a man.³⁰ Further study has shown that this is more attributable to societal assumptions held by students than it is to any lack of ability on the part of the women. Introductory courses, most frequently assigned to women instructors, are based on material more likely to have entered the common realm of knowledge, leading to the assumption that women are capable only of learning and teaching that which is already known and can simply not reorder existing knowledge or introduce new knowledge which would be considered a major contribution to a field. Male colleagues who often ignore innovations suggested by women hold them enthusiastically when it is men in the field who originate them. This bias also fails to recognize that only a small percentage of men are innovative themselves.

Helen Astin³¹ indicated that in 1972 there were about 31,000 women between the ages of 37 and 57 possessing the doctorate; these are women who received their terminal degrees between 1950 and 1970. If one were to correct for deaths ($N=432$) and for a certain proportion that never work ($N=435$) there would still be about 30,300 women doctoral holders in that age span. While it is a meager supply compared to the 244,000 male doctoral recipients in the same time period it is more than the "non qualified" about which one so frequently hears.

After five decades of sharp decline in the doctoral degrees among women, there has been very slow growth from 11% in 1960 to 13.5% in 1970. Because of the odds against them, it is apparent that this is an exceptionally bright highly motivated group. There is no available evidence to show that women with doctorates are other than highly capable and committed to their fields and careers, but they have not been allowed to make contributions consistent with their ability and commitment. Ability is a barrier that is frequently raised by skeptics.

Male recruiters have felt that women would not be interested in moving because of family commitments. This is, indeed, partially true since women have been socialized to follow their husbands. The fact remains, however, that occupational geographical mobility of women doctorates follows a pattern similar to that of men doctorates. It, therefore, is obvious that by training, ability, productivity, if not numbers or job opportunities, women are equal to men.

Administrators In Higher Education.

Except in women's colleges few women are seen as administrators and of the total administrative positions in colleges and universities women hold only 8%. They are to be found in approximately 4% of the department chairmanships and 5% of the deanships. At Purdue in the early 1970's one had to go to the 80th position beginning with the number one in salary ranking in order to reach the first woman in the salary scale at that institution.

Margaret Arter³², speaking before the American Council on Education, reported in 1972 in her dissertation on women in administration in state universities and colleges. The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges boasts that these institutions grant 60% of all doctorates in the nation and that their

alumni comprise more than half of all living American Nobel Prize winners; yet in a recent study of the total membership it was found that NASLGC colleges and universities in 17 states had no females in top level administration. These institutions were scattered throughout the United States but appeared most often in New England, the South and the Rocky Mountain Area. Generally, institutions in industrialized coastal and heartland areas had at least one highly visible woman role model.

A similar investigation, conducted in the spring of 1971, at the Center for the Study of Higher Education at Arizona State University, revealed that while the number of full-time professional faculty members ranged from 100 to almost 6000 in NASULGC member institutions, the median number was 685 and the male to female ratio ran 5 to 1.³³ Of the units of multi-campus institutions responding, 83 of 146, or 56.86% had no women at all in top level administrative posts, such as president, provost, chancellor, vice president, dean, except in the women's channeled fields such as nursing; home economics, business officer and director of academic program or institute on campus. Only 2 women presidents were discovered in the survey, both on campuses of the City University of New York. One of these is obviously Hunter, long the largest women's college in the world. The median number of males in the top administrative posts in NASULGC institutions was 18 while the median number of females was 0. The women in administration were just not there.³⁴

The purpose of the study was to discover just what proportion of these top level posts were held by women and how many women had been appointed to them in recent years. Sixty percent of the institutions surveyed did not have women in top positions who met the criterion of the study and officials of one-half of the institutions admitted not appointing women to such administrative posts in the last five years.³⁵

If women had not been appointed in the last five years the survey sought to determine how many women might have been considered or had applied successfully for such positions. Only 17% of the institutions had considered women for administration in the last 5 years, a third answered they had not considered women and half of the respondents did not answer the question at all, possibly out of fear of undesired repercussions.³⁶

To determine the attitude of the hiring agent (presidents or

other chief officers) they were simply asked if they would consider qualified women for administrative posts, and 93% responded favorably. That almost half of all the chief officers responded they were favorably disposed to hiring women and yet few women were eating the administrative cake seemed a strange paradox. The why of not hiring them was offered by few of the respondents; the others maintained a discrete silence. Officials of a few top state universities which had been under recent fire for discriminatory practices declined to take part in the study. Their refusals strongly suggested the absence of concrete affirmative action programs in the hiring of women for administrative and faculty posts on their campuses.³⁷

Even before this research had been completed, on several state university campuses, women were newly appointed to such positions as vice chancellor, academic dean and dean of the faculty. Thus, had the study been conducted six months later than it was, a slightly different population sample might have been surveyed.³⁸ It is the speculation of the authors that this sudden rash of appointments did not result from a struck-by-lightning awareness on the part of administrators regarding the true worth of the academic female, but rather from citations from noncompliance under Executive Order 11246 of the President of the United States in regard to sex discrimination on college and university campuses. Forty member institutions of NASULGC were so cited.³⁹

Should compliance investigations be a necessary forerunner to the realization of the worth of academic women in administration? Should the women who seek responsible, challenging higher education administrative leadership be discouraged as was one woman in administration in a western state university who was told by the president that although he could not have a woman as vice president, "I was assured a vice president would not be appointed over me without my agreement."⁴⁰ This is similar to another case in which the woman could not be appointed vice president for student affairs at a major private institution which engaged in big time athletics because the athletic department was under the vice president for student affairs and it would be inappropriate for that department to report to a woman.

While it would appear that under the aegis and prompting of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare some progress is being made, one cannot but still be discouraged as the women

have made hardly any inroads in the councils of real decision making. One can see affirmative action officers, assistant or associate provosts or student affairs vice presidents, a group that is somewhat beyond the pale in the view of academia. The presidents, vice presidents and academic deans are still, as Bernice Sandler* has indicated, similar to whooping cranes in that they are almost an extinct species. Efforts are, however, being made to fool whooping crane babies by having them reared by sand cranes; surely affirmative action officers will not be lulled into believing they are decision makers !

It has been said that with affirmative action, legislation and executive orders, the battle for equality in education has been won, that women should quit discussing it, do their jobs and promotions would readily come. The last four years do not indicate this to be the case.

FOOTNOTES

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The Concept of Class in Educational Theory : Some Comments

Schools, in the East as well as in the West, have always served as channels for social and cultural mobility. To the extent these channels have been open or closed, and to which groups, has of course varied according to historical period and to culture. During some periods they have been, comparatively speaking, open, and many have moved up the socio-cultural hierarchy as they moved through various curricula. During other periods this flow has diminished, and in those societies stratification has cemented.

There is some evidence to suggest that in the United States we are entering a period of some duration—perhaps five, ten, even twenty years—characterized by diminished mobility via schooling, and that we have suddenly left a period of relative fluidity. For many educationists, this development, which seemed to accompany the collapse of American involvement in Vietnam, signals the final collapse of the American educational system. Especially since 1957 this system has come under pervasive and persistent attack. By the eve of Watergate, most had concluded that while the schools were primitive in pedagogy, they were at the least sophisticated in their channeling of white middle-class children into higher social strata. Of course that the schools never functioned this way for members of the lower middle and lower classes had seemed indisputably demonstrated. True, some poor blacks and whites had always trickled through, but the student protests of the nineteen sixties, as well as widely read studies, insisted that the social function of the school is stratification, not mobility, as far as the underclasses are concerned.

Two broad categories of educationists can be identified on this matter of class mobility and stratification. One group respects

(even if its faith is shaken) the social mobility function of the school. Often members of this group originated in modest social circumstances, climbed the cultural and social ladder, largely through their academic efforts. They know schools can transform class status, and these educators, usually in private, blame the underclasses for insufficient discipline: that is why the poor remain poor. Others, in the second broad category, blame the school for class stratification. The schools are racist, classist, and only as they are transformed, concomitant with other structural transformations in society, can the position of the poor be improved. Notice that both groups still respect the social function of the school. It has served as a channel for social change for some; it could for others. That it does not is the fault of these others for the first group, and it is the fault of the schools for the second.

Inevitably there is frustration in both groups in 1976. The first group because its own children, upon university graduation, find few opportunities for rapid economic or social advancement. The second group because whatever room "at the top" (or in the middle for that matter), is now even more carefully guarded for younger members of the upper-middle and upper classes. Furthermore, not only are the poor denied access to higher classes, one's own students, undergraduate and graduate, go unemployed, threatening one's own position in the university. So the educationist suffers in sympathy for the poor, with whom he ordinarily has little contact, but he suffers also over the lack of employment for his own students, and potentially, for himself.

What lies ahead? The economic recession may well continue. Proponents of "limits to growth" may prevail, and a controlled and slowly expanding economy may characterize the foreseeable future. If so, the schools' function in social mobility will continue to attenuate; its function in social stratification will strengthen. Those who prize the former will look longingly to the past (or dreamily to the future), and deal nervously (where will my students be placed?) with the present. Those who focus on the latter, well, they have always known so, and their bitterness, as well as their class critiques, will proliferate.

An alternative, more difficult-to-imagine future is portrayed by Herman Kahn in his *The Next Two Hundred Years*. He argues that a rapidly expanding economy is appropriate; in fact, the fate of the poor depends upon American consumption. Only as the

United States devotes itself to its own economic growth can the undeveloped countries hope for their own economic amelioration.

Such a view seems the American corporate executive's dream. Only by cultivation of the "private sector" can the needs of the poor be met. This means, possibly, decreased governmental regulation of and intervention in industry as more than one of the current (May, 1976) presidential candidate call for. It means, in fact, public subsidy, in some form, of private investment.

This view may hearten the first group of educationists. As the recession ends (consonant with Kahn's view), more teaching jobs become available, in developing countries if not in this one, and, according to this view, more fluidity of movement for the underclasses. The second group would probably disclaim beneficial effects of an economic upturn—the poor will still be disbarred from middle class membership—while privately pleased at the improved prospects of placing their students.

Regardless the economic future, there are certain historical developments, described by (among others) Daniel Bell in his *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, which point to a shift in the character of the culture we comprise and in the central focus of educational theory as well.

Part of what Bell envisions as characteristic of a post-industrial age (as he terms this historical shift) is the definition of work in more social and less material terms. As a greater proportion of the population becomes engaged in "the human services" (education, social welfare, etc.), a dwindling proportion works with material items (as in the steel, automobile and other "hard" industries). What this may mean for educational theory is a similar shift from the material (in educational theory, an emphasis on the concept of class; in educational practice, an emphasis on classroom technologies) to the experience of the social and the psychological. That is a large step; let us take some time to examine it.

Consciousness, as Sartre has reminded us, is always consciousness of something. I am aware of the ink being left on the yellow writing tablet, of the chair I sit in, the plant at the edge of the desk. What consciousness is of depends (or at least is related to) on, among other factors, one's life history, socio-economic class membership, and one's work. (True, these three are deeply

inter-related.) If one works as a saleswoman in a clothing store, likely it is that one notices clothing, outside one's place of employment as well as inside. If one teaches speech in a university, one surely notices how others speak, and so on. If these relationships tend to hold, and that they do seems commonplace, then why wouldn't a similar relationship exist between the character (along a material-immaterial axis) of "objects" of one's work consciousness, and the character of "objects" one notices during the course of one's life? For instance, if I am an automobile mechanic, or a dishwasher, or a pharmaceutical salesperson, would n't I tend to notice concrete, solid objects more readily than I would notice abstract, immaterial ones (for instance, bodily sensation, or emotion, thought)? I should think so. If during the course of my working days I must be and in fact am preoccupied with concrete objects, regardless their specific nature, then whole of my life will be similarly occupied with solid objects.

Writ large this relationship makes understandable the intensity of materialism during the industrial age. (The nature of their relation—causal perhaps?—is beside the point here.) Conscious of objects, their creation, their mass production, their utilities during her working hours, quite inevitably the individual will remain conscious of objects during the non-working hours. He would come to characterize his life, its quality for instance, in terms of solid objects. Mass consumption of objects—automobiles, television sets, houses, clothing, books, etc.—and their display as indications of one's class status are inescapable concomitants to industrialization. The structural root of such a historical period is consciousness of objects.

As noted, in educational theory and practice this root has manifested in a concern not only for the concept of class, but as well in a concern for school buildings, books, audio-visual aids to instruction, and upon observable, packaged instructional technologies. Thus the performance-based and competency-based teacher education movement is very much a child of the industrial age, as is behaviorism in psychology. What is material, that which can be observed, is what is real, and what is immaterial, what cannot be readily observed (or viewed by anyone, for instance an "inner attitude"), does not exist, is scientifically insubstantial, and generally not pertinent.

But what does the coming of a post-industrial age mean? As

Bell explains, it means consciousness of objects becomes, increasingly, consciousness of experienced social and psychological relations. The world of the perfectly obvious—who cannot see, feel, or hear an automobile?—disappears into worlds that are not, that some can see, and some cannot. You have a transference relationship with your psychotherapist; your therapist can see it, experience it, and you are coming to; but your son—could he see it? or your superior at the office—could she? When one comes to preoccupation with the distinctively human world, that is the psychological—social world of human being, one enters the constructed, the abstract, the transitory. It is a world not of objects as much as one of experience. As an automobile manufacturer you see the efficiency of the product in question, its durability; as a social psychologist or a demographer I think of the product's role in psycho-social relations. And its role is something I can describe and theorize about, but it is by no means certain that the manufacturer can hear what I have described, see what I have portrayed, or understand about what I have theorized. When human experience not concrete objects are the referents of one's consciousness, one has slipped into a labyrinth of levels of meaning, and a multiplicity of meanings even on similar levels.

Some of this shift was reflected in the curriculum reform movement of the nineteen sixties, with its emphasis on the structure of disciplines, and the centrality of inquiry. Soon after, mirroring a like development in psychology, came an increased interest in process in contrast to product. "Learning how to learn" and the concept of a "process curriculum" became important educational concepts. What was important was not so much the memorization of the concrete fact but understanding its relationship to other facts, its intellectual origins, and so on. If the world in which we dwell is primarily a socio-psychological one, then questions of value become central, and we observe the movements of value clarification and moral development. In 1976 we are observing what many call a "conservative retrenchment", a return to "basics", but this is fundamentally a displacement of anxiety over economic conditions. Re-instituting writing sections on college-entrance examinations is a futile effort; even if, in the eyes of college instructors students write "better", they will still find an over-crowded job market upon graduation. But such attempts are futile, regardless the nature of the economic situation. The writing widely regarded in universities

as "fine" is writing born of traditional culture, a hyper-cerebral, form-laden kind originating in a mind dissociated from its body. Such writing, with its over-emphasis on form and linear reasoning, is inextricably linked to the industrial age. Without the appropriate historical conditions, that is the industrial age, such pedagogical attempts (as embodied in remedial composition courses) are certain to fail.

What is this new age we are entering presumably? As Bell has described, if in a worried unsympathetic and finally distorted way, it is an era characterized by the human services in the work sector and by a conscious focus on human experience in the private. Bell sees this latter emphasis as essentially anti-intellectual, ahistorical, and hedonistic. He discusses credit purchasing, the decline of "delaying gratification", and the importance of "enjoyment now." (I think of the *Psychology Today* advertisements appearing in the *New York Times* these past several months. A young man and woman - in their early thirties probably—rest on a Caribbean beach, and the ad reads: *Psychology Today* readers live their dreams today, not tomorrow.") For Bell this produces an intolerable cultural crisis, which can only hope to be resolved by the establishment of a "public household." My sense is that the crisis is more acute for men like Bell, themselves much rooted in traditional culture. Only those still dwelling along traditional forms—self-discipline, frugality of experience, continuity over spontaneity of experience—experience the cultural shift evident in many of their children as deeply threatening, as precipitating a crisis. Thus Bell's thesis has clear psychological as well as sociological origins in his own life situation. (Those who do lead wildly hedonistic lives are almost always those still attached to traditional—often puritanical-forms. In psychoanalytic imagery, instead of, as in Bell's case, the super-ego holding the ego firm—though threatened by the id—in this group the id dominates the ego, during private hours, and then the ego, with the power of the super-ego, returns to function smoothly during working hours. I think of many New Yorkers I have met, in their late thirties, who work very hard, on Wall Street, in advertising firms, law firms, etc., during the day, and then (using their word) "play" hard during non-working hours. Such a schizoid condition is widespread only during times of rapid cultural transition.)

This transition from industrial to post-industrial, from exterior to interior experience, is observable in sociology. As I read Bell's book, I found myself intrigued by the weight and texture of his prose. The words, while abstract, were light, their feeling content tightly constrained and condensed. The words are smooth, like the skin of the aged who have not worked out-of-doors. Their form is tight, and belies a self-conscious attending to form, to argument. Then I examined again Alvin Gouldner's 1972 *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*. Wherever I read in it the words were less sharp, less airy, more earthy, grounded I would say. Their outer form was less formal, less self-conscious, their cognitive meanings, on a strictly cognitive level, were more vague, more open to semantic dispute. The sense was that these words are more grounded in conscious experience than are Bell's. Such a comparative judgment is substantiated not only by the experience of reading, but by the theses of the two books as well. Gouldner calls for a sociology of sociology, for social theorists who are conscious of the basis of their theories and their research in their experience. Bell attempts to mirror, with minimal distortion by his situation, what is occurring culturally, and as a result, while, I think he sees rather clearly (though not without distortion) what transpires culturally he treats it in a dissociated way. He could hope to portray the cultural shift to immediate experience in a comprehensive way only by attending to his own immediate experience. To the extent he remains the intellectual dissociated from his own body, his sex, his existential experience (for instance, unaware of the psycho-genesis of his intellectual interests), he cannot hope to understand in other than a thinned-out, hyper-cerebral way, what he sees around him. Somehow Gouldner has managed to ground his prose, and, congruent with his thesis, it may well have to do with his willingness to participate not just observe. By immersing himself in the groups (like student radicals in the nineteen sixties) he studies rather than watching them from a distance, he himself is transformed, and this transformation is partly along the axis of the cultural one, that is, of the intellectual grounded in the erotic, in the body, and in immediate experience.

It is not that considerations of class will disappear from educational theorizing. Given the centrality of the promise of socioeconomic mobility in the United States, historically speaking, at the least the rhetoric of mobility or stratification will continue for the foreseeable future. My sense is that this focus on mobility will be

more persistent, geographically speaking, in the southern half of the United States, in the so-called "sunbelt", than in the northern half. As well one can expect to hear more of mobility in the midwest than in the northeast. Along class lines, one can count on more interest in mobility among members of the lower-middle class than any other. The other side of the coin—a focus on stratification—seems to be examined, geographically, in the northeast, and in the upper midwest, for instance at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Of course Wisconsin as a state has had a long tradition of "progressive politics", and to find Marxists and others preoccupied with class stratification at the state university is little surprise. In the northeast it is as if the American dream of mobility is the most jaded, and there the "old money" is the oldest. In cities like Houston and Atlanta, where the nouveau riche abound, is the rhetoric of mobility the strongest.

The northeast is the harbinger of what is to come to the remainder of the country, albeit in superficially varied forms, given local conditions. New money with time becomes old, and, remembering Maslow's hierarchy of needs, material needs give way to social ones which give way to intrapersonal ones. Quantity of experience—how many trips taken, people met, furniture clothing-houses purchased—gives way to quality of experience. And finally, the quality of experience has little to do with high levels of material comfort.

Clearly this is what I observed as a secondary school teacher of English in Port Washington, Long Island. On the whole these were children of the upper-middle class, children of one, regularly two professional parents. What was clear was that while the material comfort was often appreciated (and more than occasionally resented), it was not the primary focus of most students' everyday lives. Particularly among the "brightest and the best", it was not. Even intellectual-academic acquisition was not a primary commitment. What was primary was one's experience of comforts and curricula, and upon conscious integration or (depending upon the student) dissociation from these outer, public forms.

This in kernel form is the chrysalis of the post-industrial age. In the nineteen sixties and early seventies it was characterized as the cultural revolution, as the counter-culture. These terms have fallen from popular usage, Bell argues, because the traditional culture functions to incorporate whatever is new; hence American

culture is perpetually in revolution. I agree, although the mainstream culture's incorporations are often superficial, and mixing with what is extant, often distorting of what it incorporates. Consequently, it is sensible to focus on the "purest" expression of what is culturally new, before its incorporation, because, over time, the old will be transformed by the new. American culture in the mid-nineteen seventies is hardly like the counter culture of ten years ago, though many customs have been internalized (use of marijuana, relaxing of sexual restraints, focus on person, not issue, politically, decrease in importance of economic success — it remains important, but not in the way it was in the nineteen fifties and early sixties.) Similarly the mainstream culture ten years hence will not be like the avant-garde today: the "new" religions, "feeling" and "body" therapies, and gay liberation. These too, as Bell sees, will be ingested, and the body-politic will be quite different from these movements as they exist presently. So there exists no linear, predictable relationship between the avant-garde and the historical direction of traditional culture, but the former *is* in some sense indicative, and thereby worthy of serious study.

As is customary, the education fields being some ten years behind the cultural avant-garde (witness the rise of Marxist and Marxist related critiques in academic journals; these are the critiques that the Students for a Democratic Society made ten years ago), educationists will be tardy in their shift of theoretical focus from class to one on immediate experience. In fairness, one has to acknowledge the humanistic education movement, especially the work done at the University of California at Santa Barbara and at the University of Massachusetts as significant educationists' expression of the post-industrial age. But my sense is that the particular pedagogical forms created at these two humanistic centers are waning. This is inevitable I think : as soon as widespread dissemination is achieved of what was before the new known only by a few, then what is new becomes used in the service of traditional cultural energies. It seems to be what is as valuable as the new form itself, for example values clarification, is the high energy expressed through it, high energy that is equivalent to excitement and commitment that accompanies "discoveries" (however, historically speaking, old the discovery is). As soon as the form passes from the few deeply invested-psychologically and intellectually-in it, then it begins to lose its potency, which is the energy of its creators.

Those who have read my writing (formulating a method by which one may excavate and examine immediate experience) know that this discussion of class and coming preoccupations of a post-industrial age is underlaid by a considerable intellectual and psychological investment on my part. Lest I be accused of writing a thinly disguised defense of my own focus, it seems incumbent upon me to disclose, as completely as possible in an essay of this small size, the psycho-genesis of this present effort.

Structurally, it is the attempt to establish a relation between self and culture. This is a threatening endeavor. Culture as a moribund system bleeds the life from the individual as he becomes filled with its customs. To recover self, a self aware of itself as already partly embalmed with material extraneous often injurious to itself, one must repudiate the internalized. Most effectively, this stage is lived through by externalization, *i.e.* attack upon others. The student protests of the last decade exemplified this stage. Then, with the process of self-reclamation initiated, a certain sufficient sense of self reclaimed, (and a certain foreign portion exercised), the individual then attempts, from within, to create cultural forms. He creates with others who, structurally speaking, share his experience. (That is, with others who experienced traditional culture as she did, and who underwent a similar process of repudiation and reclamation.) This is the period of the nineteen seventies, with the proliferation of alternative communities, rural and urban, spiritual and secular. The rise of the eastern religions in the United States during the present time is, on the one hand, an expression of the post-industrial culture of inwardness and individuality. The focus is on the self, on the relation of self to others, self to self, and self to God. On the other hand, for many it is a substitution of traditional culture. The self, having repudiated the culture of its birth, collapses at the stage of cultural regeneration. It then turns to a substitute culture which it can internalize. So, structurally speaking, the new religions (the phrase is Jacob Needleman's) play similar cultural functions as did traditional culture, for some. The self thus implants the foreign substance, and the mode of cultural development (pseudo-development in actuality) is outward-inward. (Of course, among those who are authentically culturally regenerative, there is movement outward to inward, but this movement initiates from within, and is in the cause of the self's

idiosyncratic development, not the cause of ideology, spiritual or secular.)

The writer finds himself astride two cultures, both of which has his fidelity. In his private life he lives among his cultural contemporaries, exploring extended families, multiple relationships, alternative sexual expressions, in brief consciously working to establish, among the like minded, a congruent (congruent with self) cultural milieu. Secondly is a academic culture. Fundamentally this culture is threatened by the cultural developments it hears of outside its walls, and which it sees only student manifestations of. Social relations are comparatively stratified according to field and academic rank. There is little (although some) space to create relationships that are not primarily "politically" utilitarian in function. What is possible, to some extent is to give intellectual form to the lived experience of the writer. The threat remains, but enclosed in traditional academic forms the expression is more accessible, although still essentially puzzling. The tension thereby created seems, at this point, inescapable.

There are indications of an order of integration not yet achieved. One is Bell's sense of mainstream culture's capacity, indeed, compulsion to consume whatever appears on its periphery. The culture does essentially no regurgitation, only consumption. Of course the consumed is the consumed, losing its singular identity and relative purity. It becomes dissipated, yet integrated. (This process is the same I mentioned in discussing the fate of avant garde movements in the United States.) The second is that the cultural revolution is reflective of a deep historical transformation. The broad outlines of this transformation Bell has sketched. It is a gradual yet profound shift in consciousness, from solid objects to immaterial ones.

Psychologically then, this present effort originates in the writer's attempt to integrate the two cultures he strides. It is also an attempt to sketch a relationship between self and culture: American culture (with the use of Bell's schema) and academic culture (the education fields). His work, viewed now by others in puzzled, uncomprehending (although sometimes appreciative) ways, is seen in the context of a pervading historical shift. What individual importance it has is a moot point in this context. Regardless that it is a foreshadowing of work to be done in the coming decade. The concept of class (whether mobility or stratifi-

cation), a preoccupation inextricably linked to high materialism and industrialism, will begin to fade, and coming into sharper focus, taking varying shapes (of which *currere* is only one), will be individual existential experience.

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Cultural Pluralism and the Social Structure: A Systems View

I. INTRODUCTION

There are several cited cultural subsystems that emerge when examining the literature relating to cultural pluralism in the United States. At times, we distinguish between the macroculture, microcultures, the common culture, the dominant culture, subcultures, and minority cultures. These labels are used in descriptions of the existing state of affairs of our pluralistic society as well as in ideological models for a reformed social organization. It is the thesis of this paper that a more clearly presented view of these terms as interrelated components of our total socio-cultural system¹ will be conceptually useful in developing, evaluating, and instituting a theory of cultural pluralism. As our present language suggests the approach formulated is developed within the framework of systems theory. Because of this emphasis a brief digression into systems theory may be in order.

Systems theory is culmination of a broad shift in scientific perspective leading away from a search for inherent substance, qualities and properties to a central focus on the principles of organization themselves, regardless of what it is that is organized.² It is concerned with wholes and how to deal with them as such, the general patterns of organization, and the complex and dynamic relations of the parts of a system. This analytic approach is holistic in nature. Its view always treats systems in terms of the integration and interaction of their subsidiary components and never as the mechanistic aggregate of parts in isolable causal relations.³ Hence, in a social system, particular individuals or even groups are not essential to the existence and maintenance of that social system. Just as systems theory does not attempt to explain how a

living organism functions in terms of how the individual cells operate, it also does not attempt to explain social systems in terms of individual persons. Rather, the goal is to examine how individuals interact, how these interactions form patterns and clusters and finally how the total system maintains its integrity in interaction with other social systems. To summarize, then, the systems view leads one to accurately identify the component parts of a system and then analyze the patterns of interaction between these subsystems. It is to these subsystems which we now turn.

II. STRUCTURES

As a first step in our analysis it will be useful to make some initial distinctions within the social system. A basic distinction implied by a systems point of view is that the structure of a social system can be separated from its content. The structure, as the term implies, pertains to the form or arrangements of the parts. It is the interrelation of parts as dominated by the general character of the whole. The structure can be best understood as being comprised of two elements: the formal structure and the informal structure of the social system. The formal structure consists of the formal positions, the status relationships among them, and the interaction of the people who occupy them. This may be thought of as a hierarchy of position upon which people are assigned different roles. For example, the formal structure of the judicial system, in very simple terms, is composed of the various courts, the respective roles and positions associated with the functioning of the courts (judges attorneys, jurors, plaintiffs etc.); the rules which govern the mechanics of court operations (the constitution, statutes, the principle of precedent, etc.); and the respective positions and functions of each in relation to one another. This structure remains relatively intact regardless of who the individuals are that people the positions or the actual laws being enforced.

The informal structures of a social system parallel that of the formal organizational structure. Such structures encompass interactions that are not prescribed by the positions held by the individuals involved but rather by the dynamics of the groups' or individuals' personalities involved. It is these structures which evolve out of the interaction itself rather than the formal structural positions of the institution. For example, though each United

States supreme court is sanctioned by the same prescribed set of rules—the United States Constitution—each court takes on a character of its own in regard to its function and relationship to other courts, laws, precedents, and the like. This type of informal structure is evident at all levels of the system and influences how the formal structures will in fact function.

The content of a social system, as with the structure, is of two types. The first may be aptly described as structural content. Structural content, whether formal or informal, refers to the assumptions, values, and beliefs that are inherently part of the structure itself. This position is based on the recognition that no structure is value free. Rather, the design of any given structure, whether intentional, or unintentional has an agenda which is imposed on all functions of that structure. Our judicial system, for example, is the system it is because of an ideological commitment to certain notions of justice, fair play, and equality. Furthermore, by its very nature it reinforces certain authoritarian and authoritative roles, and a sense of tradition and other. Formal and informal structural contents do vary in at least one important respect. Because the formal structural content tends to emanate from the extant administrative structure itself, it tends to be more fixed and enduring, and its contents tend to be more stable. Informal structural content, on the other hand, tends to be more fluid and varies with regard to the dynamics of the groups and/or individuals involved. It is derived primarily from the assumptions, values, and beliefs of individuals who people the formal structures.

The second type of content found within a social system might be described as the subject content or subject matter. This refers to the values, beliefs, and information which are directly and intentionally funneled through the structural system. Thus certain subject content are selected by someone or some group from a vast number of alternatives to be "plugged in" to the mechanical or administrative apparatus. In the judicial system these would be the actual laws and statutes themselves. Seemingly, the courts could function to digest legal actions on any number of otherwise contradictory positions. For example, given one set of laws it may function to protect civil liberties and, conversely, given a different set of laws, may function to reinforce state repression. In this sense, the judicial system does not make law or establish policy, but is the structure through which it is enforced.

Let us stop for a moment to review the system we are constructing. To this point we have sought to clarify several components of social institutions. First, there is a formal structure which entails a set of assumptions and values (the structural content). This might be likened to a building. The particular design and construction of the building is based on and reinforces certain perceived functions and the values and assumptions which support them. Hence we find considerable differences between a highrise office building and the structure which houses an industrial manufacturing plant. This point can also be illustrated by comparing the structural changes in public schools accompanying the rise of the contemporary infatuation with "open education" to older, more traditional and "closed" designs.

Second, there is an informal structure paralleling this formal structure which, at once, functions within the formal structure and affects the actual functioning of the formal structure itself. Again, for illustrative purposes, consider a building, as a structure, designed with movable walls for maximum interaction and cooperation and easy flow of those individuals involved. Now consider the effects on this formal structure of an informal structure (*e.g.*, the role established by those that work within the building) which is designed to reinforce authority, status, and individual self-reliance. The intended function of the formal structure could be effectively neutralized.

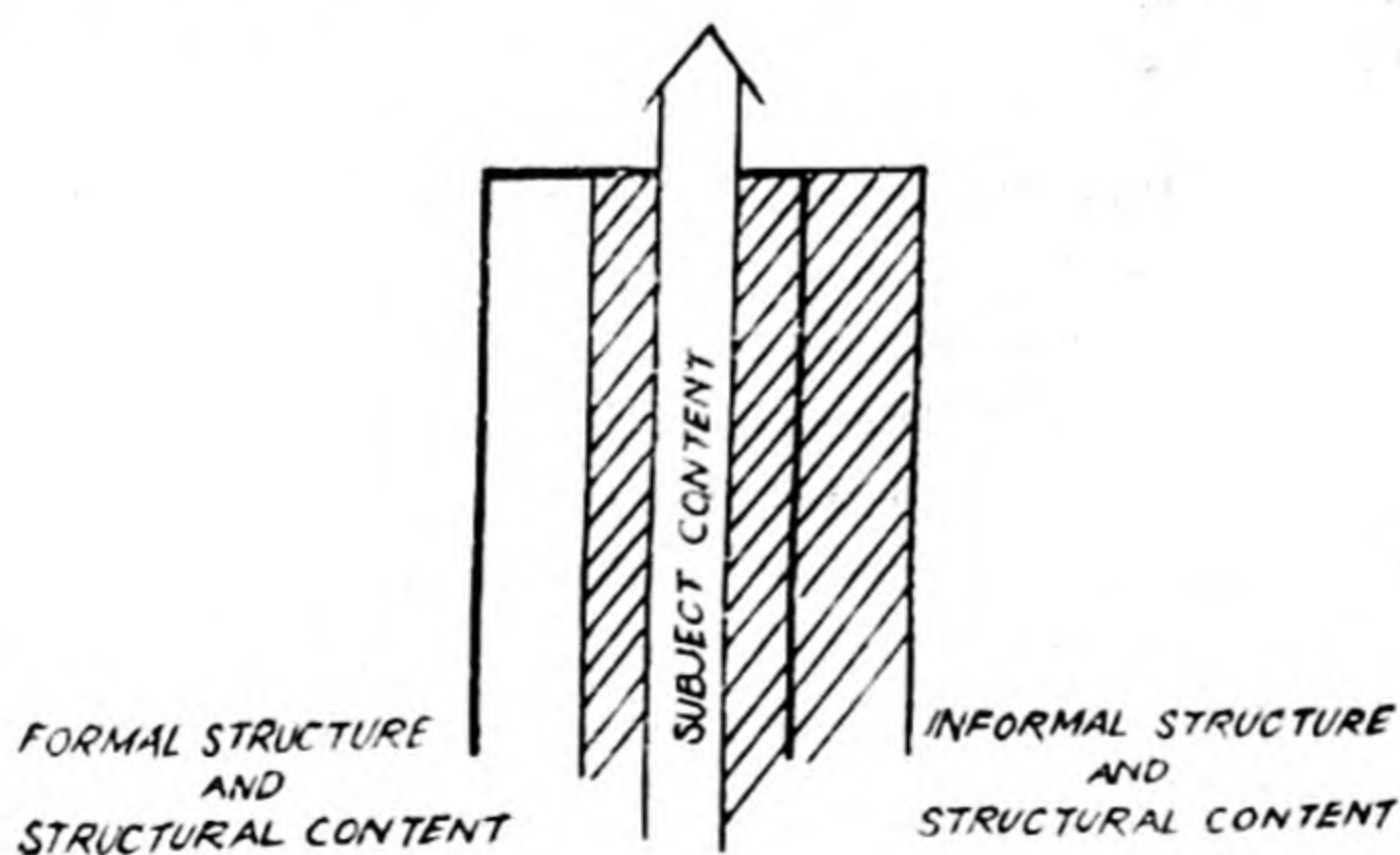


FIG. 1

Third, there is the actual content (subject content) which is fed through the institutional structures. In schools this is the

curriculum, in media it's the programming, and in industry it's the product.

The relationship of these three components to one another is one of mutual dependence. Content cannot be processed without some structure to disseminate it. Likewise, a structure can serve no function without something to process. Both of these components are dependent on the groups and individuals which set the entire process in motion, and give rise to the informal structures (FIG. 1). We shall view the significance of this interrelationship shortly in conjunction with the subsystems most often associated with cultural pluralism. We turn now to the development of these as a system.

III. MULTICULTURAL SUBSYSTEMS

Macroculture

Bohannan⁴ describes a world in which two levels of culture might be discerned—the macroculture and a complex of microcultures. The macroculture is the web of formal institutional structures which exists within any given society. In Bohannan's words it is the large scale organization by which political and economic tasks are carried out within large groups of people. Thus the macroculture is the interrelated network of formal institutional structures of the total society. For example, the media, the judicial system and public education, as institutions, are all elements of the macroculture. Together, each contributes to a much larger structural system. In this formulation the macroculture is an unpeopled culture. It is an entity that exists independent of the individuals or groups who comprise its subsystems. This quality is important because, as was suggested in the discussion of systems theory, any attempt to define the structure by breaking it down into the specific groups that are directing the content at any one time fails to provide a meaningful characterization. Characterizing the macroculture in terms of the people who are directing the content leaves other aspects undefined that are essential to the macrocultures' systemic functioning. What is necessary is an examination of the components that complete the system.

Microcultures

The second level of culture for Bohannan is "a small-scale world of family and community, mediated by interest, sympathy,

and trust in face-to-face relationships.”⁵ These microcultures are the various groups within a society which compete for access to, and control over, the positions within the macroculture. They are the ethnic groups, special interest groups and subcultures which, in total, people a society. While once these groups were primarily ascribed and were instances of local culture, today they are increasingly free from territorial bonds and based more on choice or subscription of individuals. Microcultures also differ from the components of the macroculture in that they are not all versions of the same thing. “One microculture is not, by and large, necessary in determining the shape and content of another. They can go on without each other.”⁶ Furthermore, the patterning of the structures of one microculture may be quite distinct from those of another.

Dominant Culture :

The dominant culture within a society is that particular microculture, or group of microcultures, which tend to control the functioning of the macroculture and determine its subject content. While we characterize it in singular terms, in actuality it is most likely to be composed of shifting coalitions of groups who have the power to effect their own goals and purposes within the society. Regardless of its composition, however, it is based on the group's power to successfully inject its own will on the macroculture and neutralize the efforts of others. One can thus also expect to find a compatibility between the structures and contents of the macroculture and the interests of the dominant culture. This position is based on the observation that the structures within a given society are designed to transmit the content established by the dominant culture of that society. One might note that the presumed relationship between the formal structure and the content is based on the assumption that the dominant culture within the social system is the same microculture that had dominance when the existing structures were established. While within limits this assumption is true for the United States, it is entirely possible to conceive of a rebalancing of power among the microcultures resulting in the rise of a new microculture to dominance. This being the case, one would expect a modification within the macroculture structures to the degree that they were incompatible with the desired subject content of the new dominant culture.⁷

All of this is not to say that only the dominant culture affects the macroculture. Subordinant microcultures (minority groups) also affect the macroculture in a direct relationship to the amount of economic and political power it, either individually or as a coalition, can amass for itself. An example of this is the entire "cultural pluralism movement." As an outgrowth of the civil-rights movement, it reflects how minority groups can affect the content of the macroculture when they wield power.

Common Culture :

The effectiveness of the dominant culture of the United States in constructing the macroculture has resulted in much of the macroculture and its content becoming common culture to all. In this sense the common culture is the set of culture qualities that the various microcultures hold in common. It is the common set of beliefs, attitudes, values, goals, and behaviors that are shared by all, or most all, of the cultural groups within this country.⁸ For example, the values of self-reliance, achievement, education, and materialism are shared in some form by the great majority of subcultural groups within the country. To the extent that a specific subculture holds these qualities as its own it has become assimilated into the social system established by the dominant culture. For example, it might be noted that as a result of the effectiveness of public education, most people within the United States share the value of education. Thus, we see the common theme of educational opportunity in the appeals of many minority groups for cultural pluralism.

The dynamic relationship between the common culture and the institutional structures can be illustrated in a previously mentioned example—the judicial system. The institutional web that comprises the judicial system (the macroculture) was established by the dominant culture in order to enforce the codified values, attitudes and beliefs of the culture. Through the decisions that are made (the content) which has to remain congruent with the structure itself, the dominant culture maintains control of the social system. It is through utilization of structure and content that the judicial system enters the common culture. Grievances that citizens have against each other are to be settled in the courts. Litigation is the means of seeking redress for wrongs that are committed. The courts are utilized both by individuals seeking redress and by subcultural groups who believe they have been

wronged. However, the very idea of the wrong that has been done must be defined within the traditions of dominant cultural values and attitudes, before it is admissible as a case to be ruled on. Then the decision that is made also develops from traditions established by the dominant culture. Thus the purposes of the dominant culture are very often carried out at the level of the common culture.

To summarize this second conceptual system, we have presented a socio-cultural system composed of two levels: a macro-culture made up of a network of interrelated institutional structures (FIG. 2) and a series of subcultures, interest groups, and ethnic groups known as microcultures. The microculture(s) that

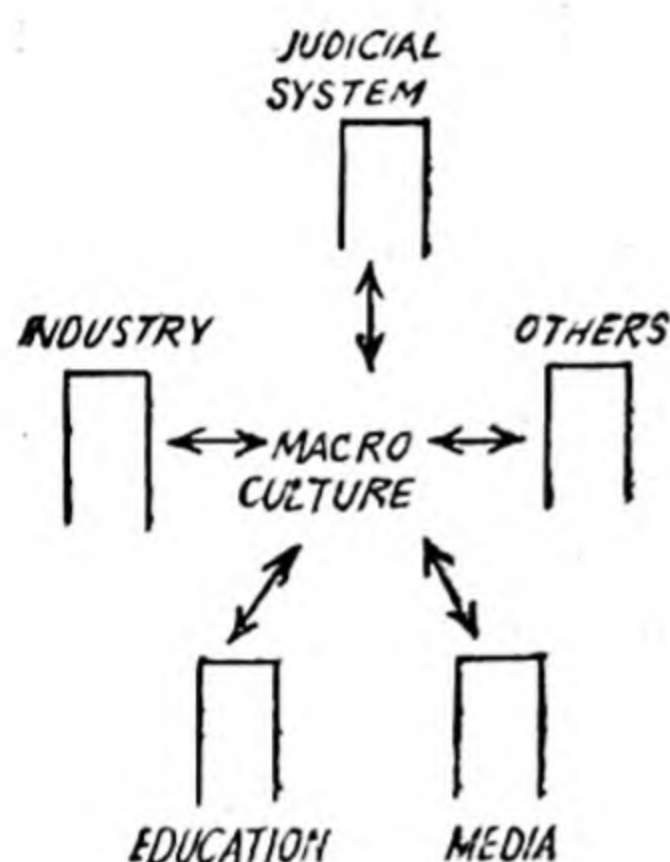


FIG. 2.

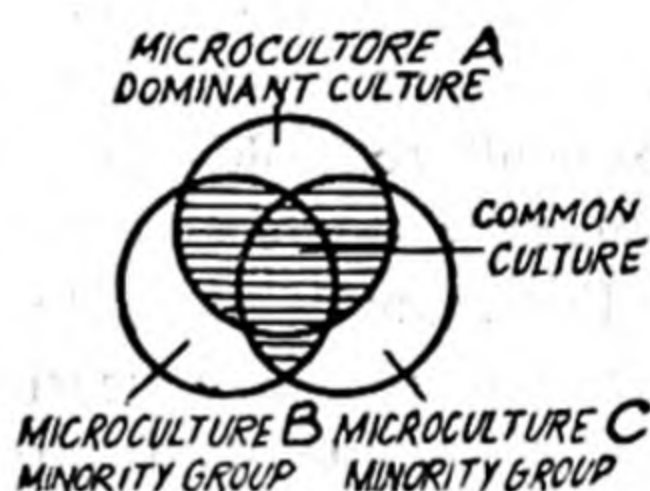


FIG. 3.

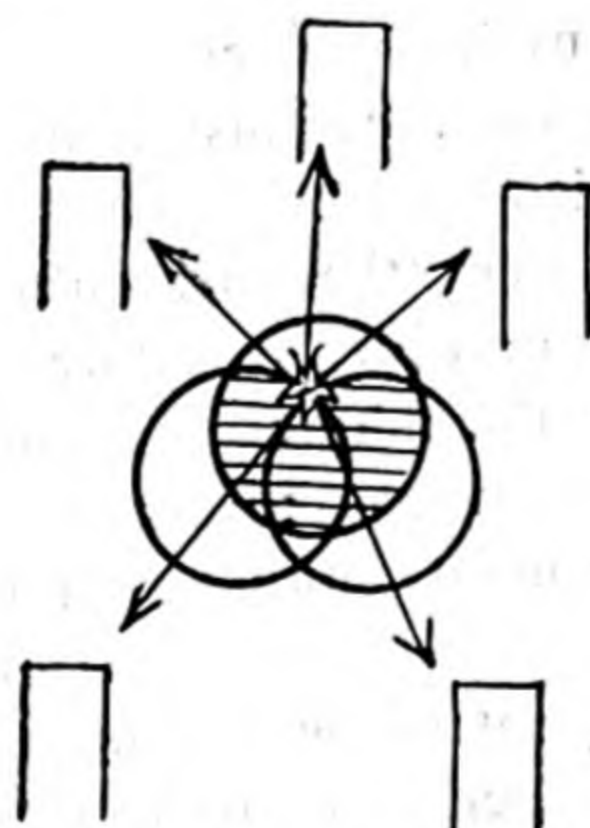


FIG. 4.

control access to the macroculture, and thus determines the subject content to be funneled through the formal structures, is the domi-

nant culture. The others might be considered as minority cultures. That which the microcultures hold in common is the common culture (FIG. 3). Because the dominant culture control much of the macroculture and its content and because the macroculture touches the various microcultures in numerous ways the dominant culture is very influential in the development of the common culture. The total systems is represented in FIG. 4.

IV. APPLICATION

The interrelationships suggested in the two conceptual systems we've just described should lend considerable insight into the complexities of multicultural proposals. By drawing our attention, for example, to the fact that formal and informal structural components, their corresponding structural content, and the subject content all belong to the same structural system, we should be alerted to potential difficulties in instituting changes within any given social structure. Consider, for a moment, a school wishing to modify its curriculum (*i.e.* subject content). If the curriculum changes are incompatible with some of the values of the school system itself (the structural content) the proposed changes will have little chance for success. This is to say, that to a large extent the formal structure of the school determines the nature of the content that can be disseminated. However, even if the proposed curriculum is compatible with the formal structures and its structural content, the effort may still be frustrated by the informal structure and its corresponding structural content. To bear this out, one need only speculate for a moment as to the probability of eliminating ethnic bias from the schools by modifying curriculum while maintaining a prejudiced staff.

The failure to thoroughly consider these structural relationships can be seen in two educational programs which experienced considerable frustration and only limited success. Head Start and the compensatory education movement of the 1960's attempted to create change in the schooling of disadvantaged children. For the most part these programs focused on the content of the schools and were essentially designed to provide experiences deemed important to school success. The frustrating outcomes which resulted were in part due to the fact that both programs attempted to change the content of the school without making parallel

changes in the structure. Thus much of what seemed success in the initial stages of the programs turned sour after children experienced several years of the "regular" school program. It, of course, would be an oversimplification to assume that the relative failure of these attempts was totally the result of only these factors. However, it seems safe to say that the lack of foresight in preparing changes in other components of the larger system at least contributed to these results.

Up to this point we have been discussing the school as a system in itself. It will also be useful to view the public schools as one component, *i.e.* a subsystem, of the larger macroculture. Thus, it would be a mistake to assume that in order to eliminate racism or sexism in society, all we have to do is effectively modify the schools. We may indeed be successful in instituting certain school reforms such as developing an unbiased curriculum and by creating both formal and informal structures that support a pluralistic ideology. By making these changes we may even be able to create a school system in which all children succeed. However, these changes will not guarantee that these children, as *school* successes, will be able to succeed within the larger society. That is, by changing the structure and content of one component of the macroculture we may have developed an anomaly with others.

By conceptualizing multiculturalism in this manner, several points of focus emerge. First, different time lines or rates of progress for change may occur in various subsystems. Second, it will be necessary to consider what kinds of change are possible in each subsystem. As a result we may come to realize that the notion of instituting massive institutional change may not be a realistic possibility in terms of a peaceful change process. However, if a change process is designed to modify the various aspects of the macroculture on a planned time line, more success can be expected.

Since the subject content is the easiest component to change, we may wish to determine the type of change needed and then how to influence the dominant culture to come to view the altered content as desirable. Concurrently, the types of structural changes necessary for the new content to be effectively funneled into the common culture need to be considered. The necessity of such

planning arises because the degree of structural change required in the various subsystems will affect the time line for introducing any specific change. Some degree of predictability regarding the rates of progress in the different subsystems is essential. Those content changes requiring minor modifications will logically be the first attempted. Those requiring massive institutional change should be introduced at a later time after the macrocultural system has gradually been modified by the minor changes initially introduced. In a sense, this entire process involves a stretching of the existing system through a series of compatible changes within different subsystems until the entire system begins to be shaped in the desired manner.

To capsule our thesis, then, we must realize that a child's education takes place in many places. The sources of education far extend the boundaries of a school building and the direct leadership of an educator. Such diverse sources as the media, the economy, the family, and the government must be acknowledged and considered in programs for changing education. If the school is the only subsystem of the total system of education that is changed, and if the changes are incompatible with the other subsystems of education or with the world for which education is attempting to prepare the child, we should expect our efforts to be frustrated.

In this light, a decision for change must entail an examination of the types of change possible, the effects of the change on other subsystems and any complications involved, and which changes should be instituted first and their effect on the "end product."

Hence, if we wish to change the home environment of a child, or group of children, we must consider any resultant changes in the economy, or the culture of the group. Similarly, if we wish to alter the school system in an attempt to develop more compatibility with the child's home environments, such issues as success models, time orientation and utilization, authoritarian role behaviors, the use of different problem solving styles, and symbolic thought styles must be considered.

In a word, social change is very complex. We must not deceive ourselves into believing that multicultural modifications in school curriculum alone will be sufficient to achieve cultural pluralism. Often the success of changes in the schools will hinge on parallel changes in many other social systems.

FOOTNOTES

1. The term socio-cultural system has been borrowed from Norman R. Yetman and C. Hoy Steele, *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Relations*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971.
2. Buckley, Walter, *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1967, pg. 36.
3. Laszlo, Ervin, *The Systems View of the World*: New York, George Braziller, Inc., 1972, pg. 14.
4. The distinction between the macroculture and the microculture is borrowed from Paul Bohannan. In the development of the concepts we have gone beyond Bohannan's analysis and perhaps distorted his original intentions. While our analysis is primarily directed towards the United States, it should be noted that Bohannan discusses these concepts on an international level. Neither of these two considerations, however, should distract from the thesis of the paper. Paul Bohannan, Preliminary Report, Social Science Education Consortium, Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., Boulder Colorado, May 1974.
5. Bohannan, pg. 19.
6. Bohannan, pg. 20.
7. One would not expect a new microculture with values qualitatively different from dominant groups of the past to achieve dominance in a peaceful manner. One must have access to the institutions if one is to influence them. Only those which can work within the institutional structures have such access. Thus, one normally must buy into the existing structure and its values if he is to work himself into a position to influence them. Amendments to the U. S. Constitution might be seen as an example to this phenomenon.
8. It may be argued that no one particular concept is held by every subculture. This is accepted. But the point made here is that most subcultures are probably in agreement on many issues, with many other subcultures. The argument is offered as one of degree not as an absolute.

Ethnicity and Education : Some Sociological Considerations

Often a certain kind of tedium envelops one who writes about social, intellectual, and cultural trends. I suppose the tedium does not issue from the craft itself, but rather comes from a press that ideas, and cultural issues place upon the intellectuals in our culture. As with television viewers, we the readers, listeners, observers of the cultural scene must either selectively filter ideas and thereby preserve a tolerable level of equilibrium or succumb to the habits of passivity, inertia or worse still-indifference that an indiscriminate diet of ideas affords. In a very real sense the symbolic reality of ideas exerts a pull upon the commentators and critics of the culture and Eugene Goodheart's injunction in his *Culture and the Radical Conscience*, that :

"What we have now is a kind of intimidation in which very little is resisted out of fear that the academy will be found unresponsive. To resist the new now requires the kind of courage that was formerly demanded by an appreciation of the new."¹

is well deserved.

What makes one a bit uncertain about this process is that perhaps those of us who comment on social themes and their significance do not do so as willingly as we might think. It is not so much that we lack Goodheart's notion of "courage," I suspect, as it is that such endeavors afford less risk; the risk of the ultimate creative purpose we envision for ourselves. One can, after all, become the hidden twin brother or "Madison Avenue"—writing popular criticism of what others produce, promote, and portray. The moral dilemma that the creative act may lie in another direction is most disconcerting and disquieting, as are the questions

about the lack of freedom we have in the social construction of our own realities.

Leaving these questions to another forum I decided to comment upon the ethnicity movement in American culture. Indeed, on a number of occasions the issue of the new ethnicity has surfaced in and been discussed in my classes. What was lacking was an adequate opportunity to analyze the cultural theme and the freedom and trust to let my ideas have full reign. Such an opportunity exists now, and the ensuing essay may be outlined in the following manner.

Initially ethnicity is discussed in the context of popular culture. In this section ethnicity is examined in the culture at large and located within larger cultural themes and trends. The initial climate, as a theme "reborn again" in the 1960's is mentioned and a popular function it might serve is hinted at as well as other ideas it "outscreams."

Next the section, media and ethnicity suggest the uses to which the concept has been placed in that context. The question of themes, as well as, the commercial uses of ethnicity are highlighted. Because of the limitations of space I have excluded a discussion of both comics and movies as they are related to ethnicity and vice versa. Though many excellent sources exist, and there are rich cultural insights in each medium, television appeared more universal and more relevant to include in the context of the discussion of media and ethnicity.

The third section of the paper contains some selected sociological observations about ethnicity and the new ethnic movement. The focus then moves from questions ethnic groups face, to the theoretical vantage points used in the analysis of ethnicity in America. Here the focus is on the promising development of a structural approach to ethnic groups. From this overview of the theoretical approaches the essay moves to an analysis of the subject in the context of modernization. Ethnicity is viewed as a carrier of ideologies and the reasons as well as the "roots" for a particular style, slant, or direction that ideas take are suggested. It is suggested that the popularity of the new ethnic movement lies deeply embedded in the fact of "homelessness" in our mass society.

The next area develops questions of social marginality and the symbolic nature of social reality. The cognitive alternatives for

ethnic groups and the demands and implications of those considerations is mentioned in the context of structural conditions provided by the urban setting of American social life. In this context school is seen as a primary carrier of the modernization process and as such, its relationship to both ethnicity and the ethnic movement (the ethnic resurgence) is important. Education and its impact as well as the methods used in the educational process—to shape our ideas about ethnic heritage, its present effects, and modern life styles is examined. As a result of schooling, it is suggested that a new consumer class is created. One that creates and uses certain ideas—one of which is the “new ethnicity.”

Lastly, the notion of a developmental economic structure and its relationship to an evolutionary social structure is touched upon. Here the notion of a principle of unity through diversity is mentioned and the real choices and illusions of ethnic emancipation are observed and commented upon. Ultimately, the essay concludes with a suggestion that the importance for the contemporary ethnic revival lies in whether or not such concerns can be linked to the continuity of the family in the modern era.

Ethnicity in and as Popular Culture

Because of the civil rights movement, the participation of young people in political affairs, and the growing unpopularity of an unpopular war, events seemed to ripple out of control through the American culture: One day a racial incident, the next a protest, later a “love in” concert, followed by a riotous political gathering. These social events culminated into and became legitimated in the advancement of the “rights movement”—a modernizing force and the liberal response to a popularly based politicized social world.

The rights movement shattered patterns in the culture and part of its focus alighted on the ethnic Americans; those individuals well within the dominant American culture who felt estranged and ignored to varying degrees. While it would be unfair to state that all of these individuals redefined themselves ethnically or felt personal outrage because they had been left out of the modern categories created by the rights movement, nevertheless, in terms of social atmosphere, some individuals did develop a new vitality and brought a new consciousness, a new identity to their ethnic heritage.² Other individuals in terms of their consciousness would define themselves in modern categories. Gloria Steinem, Betty

Friedan, and Nora Ephron did this when they defined themselves in the context of the women's movement instead of an ethnic group, in this case Jews.

The use of the more modern category as opposed to the more stable, transcendent one establishes an alteration of reality and appears as well to be a function of social class. Thus, it is always up to and a burden upon the later more stable category to define itself historically with those issues, trends, and social themes that appear in the long dynamic sweep of history. In the above example, someone will no doubt document the record as to the Jews and the women's movement.³ Ultimately how that group of women, as Jews, will fare within the context of Jewish history will be judged in the context of the survival of Judaism and what history shows liberty, freedom, and responsibility within the Jewish experience to have been.⁴

Though it is grossly unfair to chart the beginning of a social theme to any particular person or scholarly work, sometimes it is important to note that unusual combinations of events can with reasonable accuracy date the beginnings of a movement or establish a point of reference for a cultural theme. Thus, the previously mentioned themes combined with the Kennedys as clearly proud Irish-Americans in the White House. A presidential advisory group characterized as the Irish Mafia with praise as well as scorn set a tone for pluralism in governmental officials: Goldberg and Ribicoff, the Jews, O'Brian and Udall, a strong mormon, were in the cabinet. While outside government, Black America was eloquently represented by Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. with Stokely Carmichael and "Rap" Brown in the wings.

In addition, during this period, strong world personalities were on the stage. John the XXIII was Pope, DeGaulle represented the French, Nehru was India, Mao in China, and Krushchev in Russia spoke for their peoples, Ben Gurion the "first" Israeli and Castro, Che, Ho, and Nasser all played supporting roles in world affairs. Exposure to other cultures was heightened by these strong personalities. While one was aware of problems and conflicts, one was also acutely aware of human difference. With the force that expanding media coverage afforded, so much seemed to burst forth in the culture in such a short time.⁵

At any rate, an argument in terms of popular culture that the ethnic resurgence represents an aspect of this period-sort of the

counter-culture movement coming to middle age-could be suggested. This social movement in contemporary history was richly captured, perhaps invented, by Theodore Roszak in his book, *The Making of the Counter-Culture*.⁶ The counter-culture, if one remembers, was primarily youth based and saw the dominant culture as rootless, function based, technologically minded, and future oriented. The human hardships of shallow acquaintances, rapid horizontal institutional movement, and abstracted orientations were seen as disruptive forces, forces tearing the human community apart.

What is urged here is that these themes, the cultural trends, the counter-culture was said to have criticized and resisted have now been restated in different ways, in different forms, and in different social situations for the contemporary scene. The issues have become fractionated. In some instances they have been divided by both politics and professional expertise of academic inquiry. The apparent endlessness of the "rights" movement provides a good example as does the existence of a wide range of modern interest groups. Encounter groups, women's and men's liberation groups, consciousness raising groups, and the ethnic resurgence are examples of this process.

Indeed, Jerry Rubin, one of the better known counter-culture representatives, alludes to this proliferation. In his new book he says reflectively that :

"We activists in the 1960's eventually lost touch with ourselves. Arica, est, bioenergetics, and other growth trips are geared to creating a centered individual who moves politically from a deep place. Dissatisfaction is not the only source for political action; people can be political from a personally satisfied place."⁷

At this stage, it would not be unfair to suggest that the overriding theme binding these and many other groups together is a deep, often illdefined dissatisfaction with modernity. As a collection of activities, events, or as deeper social themes they serve the same purpose for groups in our technological world that perhaps psychoanalysis did for individuals at one time in the industrial society. We live in a "group" era and these groups are all examples of the modern-particularly American-attempts to adjust individuals through psychological means to a given social situation. The trend is not only a "Cultural" one but has political

overtones. It is a political issue for no other reason than individuals might do better to rebel against a contemporary circumstance if they desire to maintain or retain their freedom and fulfill themselves as human beings. Part of this rebellion must be the option of rejecting the group. Rubin captures this psychology of adjustment process well when he states that :

"In the consciousness movement of the seventies I have a new vision : a loving person, without expectations, who lives in his senses and in the moment."⁸

Stated differently, Rubin's new vision has moved from a culture he characterized by institutionalized social injustice and unfairness, to the notion of the ahistorical contented person whose tastes are softly controlled and orchestrated by the articulate socialization practices (the reference groups) of the modern institutionalized mass state.⁹

As with psychoanalysis, it should be noted that these groups and their individual searches for understanding are inherently conservative politically as their appearance is radical socially. They accept the basic fabric of the social order as given and search for a means to find individual identity, integrity, as well as purpose and meaning through adjustment within it. In general, the same can perhaps be said about the ethnic revival. There is no clear sign that the "new ethnics" want the existing order to be overthrown, radically altered, or that they believe that there would be that much difference if, in fact, it were. In reality their target is not so much society or political structure; but rather cultural patterns—"human nature" and human continuity.

In the end the truth is that the ethnic criticism of society in America is almost exclusively moral and not political. What is lacking is any constructive suggestion to alter the present. Ethnics attack the schools, the law, representative government, large corporations, and modern technology. They never suggest what could be put in their places or how changes should be made that would alter the essential unpleasantness of modern life. What the new ethnics seem to be doing is to reach out for an idealized version of the existent thing.

That such a modern social order as American culture spawns such groups, which in the end may be counter productive to individual growth and neglectful of their talents, is never seriously

regarded by their members or followers. Rather variants on the rhetoric of "liberation" are freely employed; sometimes in a strident manner, sometimes with shrill overtones. Perhaps the popularity proliferation of such groups in the American cultural soil is a restatement of the fact that in America democracy involves a continual redefinition of human life in such a manner that other groups overshadow the category of *social class*. The notion of economic groups is "eliminated" from public discourse.

Andrew Hacker referring to such a process as "special interests" says in a recent article that the modern appeal to these interests is an attempt to cloud the real issues of the current political landscape. Sarcastically, he says :

"Better to gear politics to 'special interest:' the more the murkier. Causes like Gay Liberation, Save the Dunes, and truth-in-lables are just what Madison ordered. It was best to play down property and replace it with pluralism."¹⁰

This notion of pluralism is Hacker's criticism of ethnicity as a meaningful category of socio-cultural analysis. As he says :

"Every epoch encourages the activity it calls scholarship, whose main function is to divert attention from issues of privilege and power. Just as the notion of pluralism defused a class-biased politics, so the social sciences have softened up the intellect."¹¹

Thus, while Rubin raises the question of a politics based upon the ultimate distortion of pluralism, individual satisfaction, Hacker presents the other side of the coin. For Hacker the issue becomes one of whether the ethnic revival and the analysis of ethnicity in American culture forecloses a thoughtful inquiry into more structurally threatening tensions and conditions of modern life ; social class.¹²

While the historical record can and should be read both ways here, let us note that it can be asserted that the right of leadership was not acquired from, or because of, previous ethnic conditions ; but rather by eshewing those ethnic conditions for the abstract world of education, credentials, and the secular power of a career. The freedom of a profession was a powerful lure. Groups of ethnic American varied in their ease and abilities in doing this, but nevertheless the theme does assert itself in American social life.¹³ Indeed, Sennett and Cobb document this notion in their work *The Hidden Injuries of Class*.¹⁴ As they state :

"Extended families can mean different things at different periods of history. While they allow a sharing, a mutuality, a kind of protection often unknown to persons in nuclear families, they also make possible a *kind of restrictiveness*, a feeling that other are always involved in one's personal affairs. *What appear as sustaining bonds at one time may appear as oppressive chains at another.*"¹⁶ (emphasis supplied)

One would anticipate that the substance of ethnicity would become loosened as the individual members of the group became susceptible to the pull of modernization. With the younger members of the ethnic community this is precisely what Sennett and Cobb found. As they say :

"The people we encountered felt that the extended family in this generation, has indeed become an oppressive institution. The family limits their freedom to act in such a way that they lose dignity now by following the old rules of dependence."¹⁶

Modernism thus dictates that community and the extended family become "oppressive dependence," while their absence becomes an indication of freedom or in more current terms, "liberation".

In a sense, the ethnic movement can be seen as a reaction against these anxieties of the emptiness of this "voluntary" social isolation in modern social life. One could argue that the banality of modernity, the empty day-to-dayness of mechanical and repetitive routine, tends to be filled by the artifacts of the dominant commercial culture. Herbert Marcuse in his work, *One Dimensional Man*¹⁷ states that the commercial products produced and acquired in the modern state can be seen as symbols filling the actual voids of modern life. For Marcuse the illusions of property, marks of distinction and badges of status, the commodity view of life masks the true single dimensionality of modern social life. In the context of Marcuse's thesis ethnicity presents two distinct possibilities in American culture. (1) A movement beyond this soft orchestrated one dimensional social life. (Do the new ethnics, for example, represent whole submerged populations—somehow beyond the pale of modern institution ?) or (2) The one dimensionality noted by Marcuse, taken to a new level of consciousness—a new "higher" plateau of both production and consumption patterns in society. Ethnicity could represent a new kind of ideological consumption harmless and structurally insignificant—the prepackaged modern American mind. How one regards these possibi-

lities perhaps reveals more about the readers ideology than the truthfulness or falsity of the issue under discussion and raises themes which will be subsequently developed in greater depth. For the time being, however, I would like to further the inquiry within the dynamics of popular culture by examining the media and ethnicity.

*The Media and Ethnicity.*¹⁸

At a social level, the ethnic movement has captured the imagination of the corporate planners of our culture's media. Television listings reflect ethnic programs or ethnicity in programs in several distinct fashions. Initially, there are the new programs devoted to capturing aspects of the ethnic culture in American life. Representative of this trend would be *Sanford and Son*, *Laverne and Shirley*, *Chico and the Man*, and *The Jeffersons*. In addition, there are the old stable formats which have been dressed in ethnic clothing; the detective shows (*Baretta*, *Columbo*, *Kojack*); the attorneys (*Petrocelli*, *Kate McShane*); variety entertainment (*Toni Orlando* and *Dawn and Hee Haw*). Certainly if the late 1960's could be said to be the era of space shows on television (*Lost in Space*, *The Invaders*, *Land of the Giants*, *Star Trek*) followed by what Harlin Ellison¹⁹ has called the exploitation of youth and social consciousness (*The Bold Ones*, *Mod Squad*, *Storefront Lawyers*) then one can argue that such trends do, in fact, exist in the media and one is witnessing an ethnic splurge on our television sets. In addition, a noteworthy counter trend is of course the popularity of women oriented shows ranging from sitcoms such as *Maude*, to attorneys (*McNaughton's Daughter*), to intellectual soap drama of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*.

If modern media is on an ethnic binge, what, if anything, does it mean? Does it have any importance? Does it reveal hidden and significant social themes about our culture? Suggesting that exposure may not automatically translate into serious effect is to underline the gross public dissatisfaction with the offerings of television. The national viewing audience is "statistical" obsenity, but recent evidence suggests that a growing segment is consistently passive to and unenthusiastic about what it views.²⁰ One may fairly surmise that "ethnovision" is just simply a current aspect of modern media planning. Structurally, it is the result of frenzied huddles, serious conferences, and elaborate demographic

charts that for all their multimillion dollar splendor translate into a kind of childhood game. They seek to reflect the kind of a social world that they think we think we are all sharing. As such, however, it is still television. A world of ersatz tears, harmless smarty remarks; a world of illusions, without pain, or at least one where pain, if it exists, does not hurt.

It is good television; spirited yet soulless. It is not going to make an appreciable difference on anyone's feelings. In a sense these new ethnic shows tell us that unreality is going to be as hard to bear as reality was rumored to be. This is true because the reality of television in our lives with its unreal and distorted portraits is an aspect of modernity—from which there is perhaps no escape.

E. L. Doctorow captures this process well when discussing Disneyland. He says that :

"What Disneyland proposes is a technique of abbreviated shorthand culture for the masses, a mindless thrill, like an electric shock, that insists at the same time *on the recipient's rich psychic relation* to his country's history and language and literature. In a forthcoming time of highly governed masses in an overpopulated world, this technique may be extremely valuable."²¹ (emphasis supplied).

While Joseph Raffaele noting the process in larger socio-cultural terms says that :

"The homogenization of tastes by *corporate propaganda*, the decline over generations of the cultural distinctions attributable to differences in national origin, the American work technology that decreases social snobbery by creating different sets of technicians with claims to prestige and the decline in income disparity will increase assimilation and probably boredom."²²

Thus, even when dealing with ethnicity, the symbolic nature of the world which ethnicity propounds is heightened not by ethnicity as such, but rather by structural conditions, in this instance television. It is *the mediums portrayal of ethnicity* not ethnicity itself which becomes important.²³ The truthfulness or falseness of the issues so depicted disappear before the presence of the medium, because television obeys the double principle of a

modern mass society. Its offerings are translated into a flow of images and stereotypes and must not contrast real facts with such images. As a result, these patterns have more power than reality itself.²⁴

The power of the medium is perhaps nowhere better realized than in the commercial aspects and ethnicity occupies a prominent position in the visual advertising of present day television. Instances and examples abound of foreign accents, and highly identifiable foreign places. All are connected with the advertising of *mass produced American products*. The current trend seems to indicate a shift away from foods to automobiles and cosmetics. In these commercials the appeal is to craftsmanship, luxury, fragile beauty, and the unique and exclusive nature of the product. The point is that ethnic appeal may be seen as being created by middle class individuals (the Madison Avenue clique) and as catering to the middle class mass snob appeal. Just as Volvo appeals to the intelligensia (does anyone know a college professor who does not drive one?) on the part of the automobile buyer, so do the carefully articulated commercial spots cater to the way the "old folks" did it or just simply the mystique of the foreign, the different.²⁵ One of the strengths of the medium is this multi-dimensional appeal. The pushy Molly Goldberg can remain as she is hawking her wares or can become slenderized and "ethnochic"—casually and with a heavily accented voice mentioning an exquisite bath fragrance. Something for everyone, body shirt, blue shirt, or undershirt.

Perhaps this trend, if indeed it is one, will usher in a growing sophistication in the middle class snob appeal of ethnicity. The "You Don't Have to be Jewish to Enjoy Levy's Rye Bread" signs of my youth can expand infinitely. They can become but a historical representation of a larger developmental entity through the clever exploitation of media technocrats. Human difference and cultural difference can sell. On the other hand, such statements remind those within the ethnic group depicted and yet attract those who reject the crass clutter, the junk items of the mass consumer world and seek quality as now defined by ethnicity.²⁶ In a sense, modern delicatessens and "quality" food shoppes have such an appeal for the middle class who seeks to turn their back on a world of knitted air (Wonder Bread) and edible caulking (Cheeze Whiz).

Though these media associations are more nostalgic than real, they still work and work effectively. Even if they fail, meaning that one sees through the often not too subtle associations, they still work. The argument on this point disappears because it is not a question of whether ethnicity sells, but rather that the medium sells. Its universalism lies in the fact that anything can be linked by modern corporate media production skills by the ready transfer of images to a commercial format.²⁷ Mama Celeste's frozen pizza may be good pizza. It is still frozen pizza, and for all this writer knows, the company could be owned by I.T.T.

Some Selected Sociological Observations.

Peter Berger hypothesizes that technological production and bureaucracy constitute primary carriers of modern consciousness.²⁸ Perhaps within this framework some interesting questions can be asked with regard to ethnicity and the ethnic movement.²⁹ For example, does the current increase in popularity of ethnicity represent an ideological stance against these carriers of modernization? Does it perhaps represent a search for alternatives to the bureaucratic, highly institutionalized modern world? In addition, can ethnicity as both part of the past (a current stance toward the past) and a means of coping with the future reveal insights about the world of abstract knowledge work in the modern society?

Ethnicity is one of those social themes in American culture which dominate the world of abstract knowledge work. It is the product on the one hand of unique national history and on the other the product of a set of institutions. The knowledge and insights about ethnicity are differentially consumed by individuals with different structural affiliations. Thus, the subject of study, the methods of inquiry, as well as the popularity of the enterprise are influenced by the carriers of modernism. Sociologically, one reaction to the questions suggested above is to empirically study and to document these trends, to seek correlations and to isolate and control variables. This popular research is purely modern and ethnic studies function as subject matter area of modern social science.³⁰

Within the social scientific enterprise ethnicity may represent a popular way of studying social phenomena. Such a view could trace the continuity of people as groups and relate those things that have altered and transformed them.³¹ It could study and

examine the present day pressures, trends, and themes exerted upon or generated by a specific ethnic group.³² Research could also examine the cultural patterns within given ethnic groups.³³ How these studies and research projects are accomplished as well as the attention they command depends upon several key socio-cultural factors, among them institutional location, the political climate, and ideological considerations or bias³⁴ underpinning the theoretical aspects of the research.³⁵

Historically, some groups have been the subject of socio-pathological examination by researchers whose own ethnic experience has been susceptible to different assimilation and modernization patterns.³⁶ Some groups have both the structural position and group ideology necessary to affirmatively brace themselves from attacks or negatively generated stereotypes from outsiders. Some groups have an articulate communication structure which enables them to generate a positive, self-serving cultural statement.³⁷ In this context, one can compare the experiences of Black Americans and American Indians (as examples of the first group) and the Jews who provide a noteworthy example of the latter.³⁸

Changes in the *cognitive style* with which groups of people are viewed and analyzed are frequently accompanied with social and political upheavals in the culture at large. Certainly, the Black Power movement popularized by Stokely Carmichael³⁹ and the subsequent formation of the Black Panther Party⁴⁰ attest to the resentment Black groups felt about the image they receive in American culture.⁴¹ Such political repercussions have direct impact upon the cognitive manner in which groups were viewed and treated; politically, socially, and morally.⁴² Indeed in his biography of Julian Bond, author John Neary quoted his subject about Negro life in America. Bond says :

"We're always reacting usually reacting to something somebody else did and we're still doing it now. We ought to be acting. But the reason we don't act is that we don't have the time to sit down and think and plan about the things we want to do. That's the story of a large part of the civil rights movement—they were always reacting."⁴³

In a larger sociological context it appears that the present popularity of ethnicity grew from the civil rights era alluded to by Bond and became a group reaction to the dominant thoughtways of our incorporated mass culture. On the other hand, perhaps the

ethnic revival is not a counter-trend at all, but merely a restatement of American pluralism, generated, as has been suggested earlier in a commercial sense by academic labor and underpinned by contemporary amenable social conditions. As such, ethnic studies can be viewed as work products of a highly technological society.⁴⁴ Since they form part of the intellectual activity which transpires in institutional knowledge work settings (bureaucracies) it would be fair to assume that the content, ideology, as well as the style of the research are susceptible to subtle pressures of institutional politics and the prevailing social conditions in the culture.⁴⁵

Thus, the popularity of "ethnic studies" and the "new ethnicity" or "ethnic revival" may cloud the picture of modern reality and obstruct a discussion of those elements and components of social life which would enable social reality to be perceived in a more meaningful political fashion. While the standards of judgment on these issues are ultimately personal and moral—nevertheless, as C Wright Mills has urged, they must be taken into account.⁴⁶ However, before turning to the subject of ethnicity in a political context, *i.e.*, its relationship to other areas of sociological inquiry which might be more relevant in contemporary American culture, let us briefly overview how ethnicity has been examined in America.

The Nature of Inquiry : An Overview of American Sociological Analysis

The accepted wisdom—the consensus position in American sociological literature—reveals two classic positions that have been taken with regard to the study of ethnicity in American social life. These positions are (1) The assimilationist, position, a view that cultural distinctions between groups of different national origin pass through subsequent generations in progressively modified and milder forms and ultimately disappear in modern society.⁴⁷ (2) The pluralist position, a view which emphasizes the varieties of cultural heritage as being of continued importance to members of those groups and sees the maintenance of these differences *evolving* as part of the American social fabric.⁴⁸ Research positions became rigid over the years and the argument became a classic one, like nature vs nature or free will vs determinism in other disciplines. Those who sought serious inquiry into the field often felt compelled to "choose sides" or become impaled on a thorny theoretical argument.

Recently, however, another exciting position has been suggested that shows both insight and promise in the field.

Yancey, et. al. suggests that the development and persistence of ethnicity is *dependent upon structural conditions characterizing American cities* and the position of groups in American social structure. He and his co-authors state that :

“ much of the behavior that is commonly associated with ethnicity is largely a function of the structural situations in which groups have found themselves.....We have also argued that ethnicity defined in terms of frequent patterns of association and identification and identification with common origins is generated and becomes crystallized under conditions of residential stability and segregation, common occupational positions and dependence on local institutions and services.”⁴⁹

and further on they puncture the mythology of the crucial importance of *common origins* when they state that :

The assumption of a common heritage as the essential aspect of ethnicity is erroneous. Ethnicity may have relatively little to do with Europe, Asia, or Africa but much more to do with the exigencies of survival and the structure of opportunity in this country. In short, the so-called “foreign heritage, of ethnic groups is taking shape in this country”⁵⁰

Glazer and Moynihan suggest the importance of the social environment for ethnic groups in their important early work *Beyond the Melting Pot*. In this context they state that :

“In many ways, the atmosphere of New York City is hospitable to ethnic groupings : It recognizes them, and rewards them, and to that extent encourages them.”⁵¹

If the influence of residential patterns on the development and maintenance of ethnic communities varied with the particular historical period, then the ecological character of cities, the places of employment, the availability of skills as well as the presence of technological innovation and occupational concentrations all have important bearing on the presence of ethnicity. In light of these considerations Yancey, et. al. suggests that the disappearance of ethnicity is by no means assured. They state that :

“Rather than viewing ethnicity as ascribed status generally as being inevitably doomed by the processes of modernization,

we suggest that *ethnic groups have been produced by structural conditions which are* intimately linked to the changing technology of industrial production and transportations."⁵² (emphasis supplied)

Furthermore, after carefully reviewing the literature and determining that the importance of culture in determining life styles is not based upon empirical assumptions that have been tested they state that :

"Mounting evidence suggests that the examination of ethnic experience *should use the urban American-ethnic community, rather than the place of origin* as the principle criterion of ethnic group membership."⁵³ (emphasis supplied)

Thus, the long ignored implications of the structural position becomes apparent for ethnic studies. A shift away from studies of separate and distinct groups (no matter how inherently charming their customs or how acute their hardships or, for that matter, how revealing the contrasts between groups may be in a comparative sense) and a movement toward research into the ideology, politics, economics, and sociology of American urban life seems to be mandated

That the containment-dispersion of ethnic groups is a function of these and other structural conditions can be seen in contemporary America. For example, the legal decisions focusing on schooling and education,⁵⁴ (those regarding busing),⁵⁵ the recently initiated governmental policy of affirmative action,⁵⁶ redlining practices of urban bankers (consciously excluding home loans and mortgage funds to certain neighborhoods), as well as the presence or absence of urban services, all indicate that perhaps it is less important to study the groups of affected people involved and more valuable to study the dynamics of power relationships and economic and political interests which effect, differentially, different members of the urban population.

In a very real sense these structural conditions are the concerns of the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Chairman of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH).⁵⁷ Jackson's pleas for self help, local business, indigenous institutions, jobs, quality schools, family services, and the retention of money, materials, and professional expertise in the community seem to be highly relevant. As he says :

"Through the proper use of money and a positive attitude, we can stimulate self-development and give the people a vision."⁵⁸

and that black Americans :

"...need a blueprint, such as an urban Marshall Plan, but at its base there must be moral authority and sound ethical conduct."⁵⁹

Jackson's remarks are substantiated by current historical research.⁶⁰ Foley, for example, indicates that lower status urban residents are more dependent on institutions and services in the immediate neighborhood,⁶¹ while Richard Sennett in his work, *Families Against the City*, notes the different effects that middle class families have experienced as a result of changing urban patterns. Sennett observes that :

"In terms of people's lives, the middle class families of the modern city seem to have achieved a subtle, and highly civilized, network of kinship ties; there is mutual economic assistance in time of trouble or sickness, help in occupational achievement, or sharing between families, *yet the individuality of each conjugal unit is maintained*, so that a concurrent private and corporate family life is possible."⁶² (emphasis supplied)

Sennett goes even further and suggests that the economic discontinuity observed in his study of the families of Chicago—initially caused by the fathers' lack of mobility in the face of the city's growth—can be seen to be passed down psychologically in the country's history. After noting the post World War II family trends, Sennett states that :

"And yet the impulse to retreat from disorder, to make of the family a bullwork against confusion, *rather than the center of a full range of human experience, may persist across time*."⁶³

Thus, advances in technology, the fields that could broadly be defined as human services, and an increasingly specialized division of labor affected and continue to effect the immigrants to urban America. Yancey, et. al. state that :

"Urban neighborhoods were progressively deprived of their total social system characteristics as particular activities were transferred to more specialized areas."⁶⁴

and Irving Howe documents this process of specialization in a charming biographical sketch about Lillian Wald the founder of

the Henry Street Settlement House in New York's Lower East Side and a courageous social worker during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Howe records the increased specialization and institutionalization as follows :

"The Settlement kept growing : by 1898, eleven full-time staff, nine of them nurses; by 1900, fifteen nurses, by 1960, twenty-seven nurses. As her work succeeded, Miss Wald's power grew, and she used it shrewdly and to keen effect ... By 1916 the Settlement owned half a million dollars in property and had extended its activities far beyond the original task of nursing."⁶⁵

Ethnicity as Ideology : Modernism and Cognitive Realities

At this juncture our discussion must move from an overview of the theoretical approaches of inquiry "internal" to the subject of ethnicity to the larger, more penetrating ideological considerations about ethnicity in America, as that subject is related to other social issues in American social life.

It has been suggested that ethnicity can be seen as a subject that clouds the American social portrait, whose popularized presence on the intellectual scene mitigates against other subjects of analysis more accurately directed to understanding both how our society work and the moral implications of our on going social transactions. While it will be subsequently urged that ethnicity fosters a view of the world where social class and the politics of economic interests are softly placed in the background—crowded out as it were by the public and politicized differences between groups of people—at this point a different consideration should be interposed.

Perhaps ethnicity in and of itself is a relatively unimportant item. The real significance of its importance lies in the alternative manners of response to it. *It is the ideologies or world views behind it; for which ethnicity serves as a carrier, that are important.* As such, a subject of modern socio-cultural inquiry, ethnicity is no more, no less, important than drugs, crime, abortion, busing, God in the classroom, women's liberation, or any of the other social issues cluttering the pages of the current press or scattered throughout serious digests and critical reviews. What is important in the response to the issue is the ideology behind the issue, the reasons for the predominance of a particular ideology at a given

moment of social time (which can be indicated by the "subjects" used to carry the ideology)⁶⁶ and the social processes, the means of conducting the inquiry. A response that fails to mention these considerations in its inquiry perhaps lacks a quality of completeness that is unsatisfying to the engaged intellectual. Thus, while the subject may have certain inherent noble features in itself, as ethnicity does, its presence as a popular item of social inquiry may raise more intriguing and deeply troubling questions about the sociology of knowledge, the politics of knowledge, and the social construction of reality in the modern nation state.

For example, to write about ethnicity, by no means dictates the use of modern empirical tools. Abstract mathematical methodological models and a complex computer assisted analysis are not necessary conditions for an effective analysis. One could urge, as I have in the case of Cliometrics,⁶⁷ that such methodological and cognitive approaches actually can cloud the larger explanations—those "meaning" questions; and that quality of shared moral skepticism which ultimately must underpin all academic pursuits—and place the writer in the double bind of modernity: that all, even potential anti-modern subjects, must be examined with the tools of the modern era. After all, it may well be that fiction can tell us more about ethnicity than social science ever will.⁶⁸ Studs Terkel conducting pushy streetside interviews may reveal more than carefully orchestrated field studies and simple human sensitivity to other human beings may offer more insights than opinion survey research, George Gallup notwithstanding.⁶⁹

One of the ideological uses of the ethnic revival can be the induced feeling of *mass social marginality*. The members of the mass do not want, for whatever reason, to be either socially treated or cognitively perceived as being members of a mass. The members of the mass crave a feeling of uniqueness and the return to ethnicity, albeit in highly differentiated forms (real and inauthentic), can be seen as a rejection, an "ideological out," from the universalism of the mass. Paraphrasing the words of Eldridge Cleaver the ethnic revival is an escape from being part of the problem. In addition, the popularity of neoethnocentrism can be seen to have psychic overtones. A mentality that can make the burdens of modern consciousness easier to tolerate can be ideologically fashioned.⁷⁰

But if ethnicity and the ethnic movement in particular can be seen as a balm for the collective consciousness of the era (sort of a

secularized religion for many), then certainly the sociological aspects of this process must be examined. For example, does it indicate a kind of social marginality in the modern world, an opting out of the mainstream of social events? Does this general social theme translate itself into particular specific instances? Can, in other words, large scale social marginality be tolerated in a modern nation state? Or is the true meaning of the ethnic revival really a social statement that cultural differences have in fact disappeared from American soil? The answers to these questions raise a series of interesting speculations.

Whether marginality can be tolerated in the modern state obviously depends upon how marginality is defined and who defines it. It can be tolerated if it can be controlled—orchestrated. It can be non-threateningly real, a function of size: as is the case with the Hassidic Jews of Brooklyn or it can be a tissue of poses and annual street festivals. Ultimately, however, the toleration of social marginality rests with the political questions raised by a group's cognitive alternative—their rejection of technology and social structure or both.

An example of the difficulties presented regarding the maintenance of cognitive alternatives is the complaint frequently voiced by teachers and other knowledge workers, including bureaucrats, that there is no structural mechanism protecting those who are members of a cognitive minority. To date the political and labor practices in this sector seem unable to protect the marginal person from either the pressures of colleagues or institutional tyranny. *Effectiv self-governance seems to imply cognitive consensus.*⁷¹ The risks of a competing view of reality evidently is too threatening or socially ambiguous for modern institutional work.

Ultimately, however, one could urge that such questions within the subject of ethnicity become moot because of the plethora of modern social management skills in our society. The great achievement of these skills has not been the efficient production of goods or services, or the integration of the labor force *but the rendering of the modern individual into public and private spheres.*⁷² Who cares what one does off the job? The ability to achieve occupational compliance and at the same time render virtually all else (religion, ethnicity, and even sex) to a private sphere where behavior and interests are governed by individual tastes and personal choice *is the single great accomplishment of modern social*

management. Modern management effectively depoliticizes the contemporary individual and at the same time produces the illusion of personal freedom. Thus, matters of concern such as the content of ethnicity and individual choices about social structure, and technology can be transferred to the private sphere and as long as they do not interfere with the instrumental conditions of one's work, no significant issue arises.⁷³

What this process indicates is that the problem of marginality for ethnic groups ultimately remains one of *cognitive innovation* for members of the group. This, however, is directly linked to the survival of a people *as a group not as individuals*. Those groups which fail to cognitively innovate are not necessarily doomed as perhaps the Amish and certain native American peoples indicate, but rather face privatization as a group.⁷⁴

The problem of cognitive alternatives presented to the ethnic group is a complex one and one that groups are historically differentially suited to deal with. Certainly the issue presupposes a frame of reference that views the cognitive alternative as a critical question for the ethnic group. Events, issues, and policies must be translated, argued about, debated and a group position must be taken with some degree of authority and legitimacy. There must be sanctions, after a fashion, against those in the group who do not share these perceptions. This is an arduous task; and while it can be undertaken, it is difficult and in a sense means that all members of the group must have a unique education. At a minimum, it would seem that group members must know what is transpiring in the larger secular world, how to achieve some measure of economic security within the realities that context presents, and how all these complex processes effect them all as members of a unique and distinct group. Ultimately, both an acute historical awareness and a dynamic sociology of knowledge must as a minimum form an underpinning for the leaders of such groups.⁷⁵

That these are difficult conditions is shown by how easily the demands, queries, complaints, and dissatisfactions of groups can be translated into tangible items: modernity's statement for the ethnic consumer. Schools are renamed, citizens centers planned, playgrounds developed, and some individuals are hired by large institutions and placed in visible positions. *America's genius lies in using specific issues to evaporate longitudinal consciousness*. Thus

the ethnics are caught in the apparently endless webwork spun by modernism. Ethnic survival becomes both evolutionary and at the same time can be seen to subscribe to at least one of the major myths : of progress. This is true if for no other reason than the ethnic group can press such group claims indefinitely. The infinitude of the process seems to go unrecognized and the apparently endless appetite for group claims as well as the nature of secular resistance to the demands can lead to a state of mutual exhaustion and a deeper all pervasive social cynicism in modern society.

Some groups fall into the traps of modernism. These groups are exemplified by those who accept the mythology of quantification—the quotas provided by affirmative action programs.⁷⁶ Some groups appear to feel that with the increased visibility that percentage hiring guarantees that an answer for the age old questions of social discrimination, occupation exclusion and intellectual difference has been found. However, could not one argue that in fact more has been lost than gained by pursuing such a social policy.⁷⁷ As Nathan Glazer states :

“Thus the nation is by government action increasingly divided formally into racial and ethnic categories with differential rights. The Orwellian nightmare ‘ all animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others, ..’ comes closer. Individuals find subtle pressures to make use of their group affiliation not necessarily because of any desire to be associated with a group but because groups become the basis for rights, and those who want to claim certain rights must do so as a member of an affected or protected class. New lines of conflict are created, by government action. New resentments are created; new turfs are to be protected; new angers arise; and one sees them on both sides of the line that divides protected and affected from nonprotected and nonaffected.”⁷⁸

In addition, to argue in favor of affirmative action and quotas means that the institutional career-work-achievement-progress model has been purchased by at least a portion of the ethnic or minority group.⁷⁹ This becomes clear if one views the Women's movement as an ideology for a career. In some respects, it can be said to be a perfect modern ideology : Something utterly without internal content. It is solely a procedural mechanism fostering the ease in the placement and hiring of individual women.⁸⁰

Commonplace sociology would refer to this process as role expansion, but this reference misses the ideological and political significance as well as the social class overtones of the phenomenon. There is, after all, a very real difference between liberation and emancipation.⁸¹

In the perspective of social class, one could suggest that the notion of ethnicity is essentially the product of middle class minds and that it represents those members of a privileged stratum of society, namely, those individuals who are employed in large bureaucracies in modern society. Reflecting on this dimension for a moment let us quote Peter Berger who says that :

"First, in modernizing societies today the *political carrier* of modernization generally appears to be more important than the economic one—appears to be so, that is, in the mind of the people in the situation. Second, in most modernizing societies today *a specifically political middle class has emerged*—that is, a relatively educated and privileged stratum which derives its position mainly from employment in the state bureaucratic apparatus."⁸² (emphasis supplied)

Once one appreciates the evolution of modernization being linked with the evolutionary nature of a social class, then one can go one step further and also link the evolving ideas with the developing consciousness of that social group. Thus, on the one hand one has a situation where ethnicity is seen as an idea of a social group whose function is a prime carrier of modernization. On the other hand, the relationship can be interpreted to mean that for ethnicity to survive, and by implication for the rest of the world, culture to survive, that it must also be developmental.

This later developmental thesis is propounded by Ellis Rifkin in his work, *The Shaping of Jewish History*. As Rifkin states :

"Jews and Judaism were not born with capitalism, but capitalism is crucial to them in our age, because it is, thus far, the only economic system whose inner dynamic drives it to press for *infinite economic growth; and without sustained economic growth there can be no social or political unity that still allows diverse groups to maintain themselves*. This Jewish historical experience points up again and again : creative energies were unleashed that brought Jews and non-Jews together in fruitful interaction; difference was cherished, not scorned."⁸³ (emphasis supplied)

In a sense then one can argue that there is an economic link between modernization and the emancipation of minorities. However, it must be noted that this emancipation can take two forms: It can be as ethnics or from ethnicity. The difference is both obvious and crucial. The former experience is shared by a group, the latter suggests the experience is individuated. The first calls for a Moses, the latter for a nose job.⁸⁴

Ethnicity in Education : Some Selected Implications :

The central thrust of modern institutions, school among them, has been to remove the ambiguity and mystery from life—and culture itself has been divided and reduced to an individualized component, currently referred to as “life style.” As Blau and Duncan state :

“Objective criteria of evaluation that are universally accepted increasingly pervade all spheres of life and displace particularistic standards of diverse ingroups, intuitive judgment, and humanistic values not susceptible to empirical verification.”⁸⁵

The school not only teaches a form of objectivity, but does so in an objective manner. In doing so, it give birth to a new form of social tyranny in the notion that each argument has two sides. Perhaps what the school promotes in the name of objectivity is not a conscious curricular process but rather nothing more than the functional rationality of a bureaucratic institution in operation.

However, the question of an ethnic cultural loss and a cultural basis for educational action is complex. There may be attachment to language and cultural style which is inhibited by the patterns of public education. It is difficult, however, to translate these demands into authentic concerns when the groups most frequently associated with them have effectively lost, or, at best, recall with difficulty those features of the culture they mourn and are unable to articulate those elements of their heritage they feel the schools have neglected.

Inescapably modern education is increasingly an aspect of national policy. As Daniel Bell states :

“Who shall be educated, and how far; how much should be spent for graduate training, and in what fields—this is no longer, in its magnitudes, a matter of individual choice but of government policy.”⁸⁶

It is one thing, and in harmony with our national policy, to urge educational instruction in Spanish as was one by the *Serna vs Portales Municipal School* case,⁸⁷ and quite another to urge the same for third generation Polish-Americans living in the suburbs of Chicago.

Rather the nature of the "ethnic grievance" appears to be symbolic. It deals with the impact American schooling has had on the customs, language, and the historical treatment of ethnic groups by the schools. As Thaddeus L. Kowalski, Head of the Illinois Chapter of the Polish-American Congress, says :

"We want a fair share of the pie. My God, we're the second and third generation. Acculturation is no problem. It's acculturation without representation that we're trying to beat."⁸⁸

Can modern schooling provide protections against acculturation without representation? What effects will the new ethnicity and the ethnic movement have upon education? Is the ethnic movement an important trend, something to be watched in education, or can it be quietly placed aside for more important curricular issues and educational phenomena of greater significance? Michael Novak suggests that :

"Education in America has not been conceived as a search into historical roots. It has been conceived as indoctrination into superculture."⁸⁹

Revisionism aside, to a degree one must concede Novak's point. Education can and should provide a rich experience in terms of the history of the many groups who peopled America. Perhaps in certain curricular offerings education should address itself to the success or failure of the American Dream as it affected different ethnic groups. However, as a theme for cogent analysis of contemporary social affairs or for extended educational content it offers little for the students. It may, however, open new career options for teachers and in a sense can be seen as having careerist ideological aspects.⁹⁰

More important, however, are the structural conditions of modern schooling. As the late Paul Goodman admonished :

"If the institutions are such that there is entry into them and freedom is possible in them, the young will pick up their

principles. The humanities are not obvious in the environment. It is not that good institutions make possible a good educational system; they *are* the good educational system"⁹¹

To resist tendencies and trends to eradicate the ethnic component from those groups who wish to remain intact would seem to be mandated for our schools. This would mean a kind of sensitivity for which American education has not been known and might call for an honest pluralism in parts of the country. For example, our ability to integrate the schools should mean more than a quantified index of children with different skin colors in attendance. It must mean the integration into the school of customs, manners, and culture; perhaps even soul.

Thus, if modernization can be described as a spreading condition of homelessness, as Berger suggests, then cannot ethnicity be seen and perhaps understood as the promise of a home for the modern individual? Cannot the ethnic movement in American social life be seen to represent a cultural statement of sorts: A collective longing for and an attempt to deal with the past as a source of choices for both the present and the future? In a sense cannot it be seen as a search for lost dignity, a retrieval of the essence of inner worth? As Harold Rosenberg says:

"The new anonymity of the human being, whether as a fact or as a possibility, puts an enormous emphasis on the act of defining oneself. To a man who feels himself to be nothing in particular, it may come to seem highly desirable, especially in those crises where the meaning of his life is put into question, to be able to say decisively and once for all, I am *this*."⁹²

Ultimately, perhaps modern ethnicity is important in our culture not because of its sensationalism, its commercialism, or the intellectual uses to which it is placed; but because of its potential for reductionism. On the one hand, it has reduced the complexities of life to the routines of a cultural stance and as such it represents an attempt to simplify, to typify a cluster of cultural experiences. But it also represents an inward turning and one that speaks to the resurgence of the family, perhaps with the new economics of scarcity considered, even the extended family, and an alternative to modern political abstractions. Michael Novak states that:

"Almost everything about both 'liberal' and 'conservative' economic thought neglects, ignores, or injures family net-

works. It is not benign neglect. Millions of dollars are spent on the creation of a larger and larger state apparatus. Resources are systematically taken from the family. Is this an accident? One by one, all centers of resistance to the state are being crushed, including the strongest, family."⁹³

However, no such questions can have firm answer. All one can do is suggest possibilities and themes—ways of looking at the problem in a manner that affords the richest interpretation. An answer, and a tentative one to be sure, is that the new ethnicity provides a foundation, an anchor point only for those individuals who themselves are of a modern persuasion. Richard Sennett goes further and suggests that the recent celebration of ethnicity in American life expresses a peculiar version of the myth of decline. As he says :

"The purpose of a myth of decline is not to revive the past but to create an attitude of resignation about the present. If what really matters has vanished, if community has broken down, then those left in the wake have some justification for feeling apathetic."⁹⁴

Perhaps than the new ethnicity can be seen as modernity's answer to the homelessness condition of modern individuals as well as a psychological balm for helplessness. As Harold Rosenberg has written, "The makers of mass culture are its first and most complete victims."⁹⁵

At one extreme the movement represents an intellectual cover for the very processes it seeks to escape, while at the other, it attracts those who are emeshed in the disquieting and unsettling forces of the modern world. It is human privatization, pop-cultural packages, commercial hype, high drama, and cultural farce all rolled together. It can cover the realities of an unfair exploitative non-developmental society and it can cloak the existing privileges of social class and the maintenance of unequal distribution of wealth and power in the social system. As serious intellectual analysis it has been misguided in its own theoretical construction and juxtaposed to other ventures that could be mounted and undertaken in both social science and cultural criticism ethnicity lacks a certain incisiveness and explanatory power.

To say that ethnicity, and culture on a global scale can provide a liberating focal point—a vantage from which humankind can

escape from the constrictions of the nation state, corporate conglomerates and trans-national institutions is to be nostalgic at best and certainly politically naive. There are bound to be many varieties of experience in the world yet to unfold. Perhaps one will truly achieve a human answer to some very great human concerns about modernism and do so ideologically, conceptually, and behaviorally. To deny that it seems likely to occur within the American ethnic revival is to be a naysayer in a culture that refuses any options other than rosey optimism and the strenuous pursuit of solutions to contemporary problems. To say no, not, nein, non, na, nyet, or any other linguistic negative embraced by the heritage our citizens must be acknowledged as a valid American response—as a search for both meaning and limits.

FOOTNOTES

1. Goodheart, Eugene, *Culture and the Radical Conscience*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1973, p. 71.
2. The tendency in this direction is exemplified in William F. Gavin's recent work, *Street Corner Conservative*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1975.
3. See *The Jewish Women in America* by Charlotte Baum, Paula Hyman, and Sonya Michel, Dial, 1976. Though a highly uneven work it does carry a definite feminist tone. See also Friedan, Betty, *It Changed My Life: Writings on the Women's Movement*, Random House, N.Y., N.Y., 1976. See especially, Part V: An Open Letter to the Women's Movement, 1976, p. 369—388.
4. However, this form of cognitive bargaining takes place first in a more immediate sense; certainly in the sense of daily issues and year in year out struggles placed before the culture. Thus, the functionalism of the present is redefined within the context of the historical experience. Ultimately, the sources competing for legitimacy are weighted historically.

In the above example, only a history of the women's movement would compete with the category of the Jewish contribution to the movement. Chances are when the history of the movement is written, it will be written by Jews in the movement; if for no other reason than they will have made substantial contributions to the existent literature and ideology about the movement.

5. As an aside, the first strongly felt foreign influence upon the culture during this period was with the youth and this was through the medium of music—the Beatles invaded America and influenced the conscious-

ness of American youth. America was a culture reached through its youth.

6. Roszak, Theodore, *The Making of the Counter-Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition*, Anchor Books, Garden City, N.Y., 1969.

In terms of Roszak's most recent work, *Unfinished Animal: The Acqarian Frontier and the Evolution of Consciousness* Harper and Row, N.Y., 1975. The new ethnicity would appeal to the magic, mystery, and myth transcendent "triangle" as opposed to the trilogy of modernism: history, reason, and technology.

See also, Roszak, Theodore (ed.), *Sources*, Harper Colophon Books, N.Y., 1972. *Where the Wasteland Ends: Politics and Transcendence in Post Industrial Society*, Anchor Books, Garden City, N.Y., 1973.

7. Rubin, Jerry, *Jerry Rubin at Thirty-Seven*, M. Evans & Co., New York, N.Y., J.B. Lippincott Co. (dist.), 1976, p. 198
8. Rubin, Jerry, *ibid.*, p. 198.
9. Rubin, Jerry, *Do It*, Simon & Schuster, New York, N.Y., 1970.
10. Hacker, Andrew, "Cutting Classes," *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, March 4, 1976, p. 15.
11. Hacker, Andrew, *ibid.*, p. 10—11.
12. Or as Charles H. Anderson, author of *The Political Economy of Social Class*, says: "...if prestige, life styles, and interaction are the objects of research, the intent should be the clarification of their significance for economic and power inequalities." Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974, p. 134.
13. In literature, for example, one has Farrell's Studs Lonigan, Schulberg's, Sammy Glick, and Richler's Duddy Kravitz to name only a few ethnic characters in fiction.
14. Sennett and Cobb, *The Hidden Injuries of Class*, Richard Jonathan, Vintage Books, N.Y., 1972.
15. Sennett and Cobb, *ibid.*, p. 107.
16. Sennett and Cobb, *ibid.*, p. 107.
17. Marcuse, Herbert, *One Dimensional Man*, Beacon Press, Boston, Mass., 1964.
18. Kael, Paulene, *I Lost it at the Movies*, Bantam Books, N.Y., 1966. *Deeper into Movies*. See also Simon, John, *Movies into Film: Film Criticism 1967-1970*, Delta Books, N.Y. 1971.
19. Ellison, Harlin, *The Glass Teat*, Pyramid Books, New York, N.Y., 1969. See also by the same author, *The Other Glass Teat*, Pyramid Books, New York, N.Y., 1973.
20. Diamond, Edwin, *The Tin Kazoo: Politics and the News*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1975.
21. Doctorow, E.L., *The Book of Daniel*, Signet Books, New York, N.Y., 1972, p. 305.

22. Raffael, Joseph Antoni, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 424, 1976, p. 201—202.
23. Ellul, Jacques, *The Political Illusion*, Knopf, 1967.
24. Ellul, Jacques, *ibid.*

Note also an earlier theme, the absence of discussion about social class and the resultant differences in political power and the failure of *Beacon Hill* the much heralded American copy of the British television program, *Upstairs-Downstairs*. One reason why *Beacon Hill* may have failed was that social class difference was not only prominent, but was the central theme of the series. As such, the theme ran contrary to the illusion of classlessness in our American culture.

Much more popular was the Public Broadcast Service, *An American Family*. This program told the story of the disintegration of the Loud Family of Santa Barbara, California, (see also Loud, Pat and Johnson Nora, *Pat Loud: A Woman's Story*, Bantam Books, New York, N.Y., 1974).

25. This point has its obvious limits. In time no doubt, Honda will be as American as Levi's Chevrolet, or du Pont. Though it should be pointed out that purists would urge that only products bearing names like Jello should be considered American. The point is that there is an image alluded to here where a product crosses a line in the mind of a consumer from a different, unique item to a mass product.
26. Gay, Ruth, "Fear of Food", *The American Scholar*, Vol. 45, No. 3, Summer, 1976, p. 437. As Ms. Gay points out, the supermarkets and the mass production food corporations are not far behind. The recent phenomenon of the new "natural," "real," and "old style" type of modern mass produced food items advertised on television is called to the readers attention.
27. Noteworthy in the failure to recognize these possibilities have been the large automobile corporations. Their resistance to safety was removed only when they recognized that their corporations could make money promoting and advertising safety instead of chrome. See, Rothschild, Emma, "G.M. in More Trouble," *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, March 23, 1972, p. 18.

Note also the potential of the media to sell something other than commercial items. See, McGinniss, Joe, *The Selling of the President 1968*, Simon & Schuster, New York, N.Y., 1969.

28. Berger, Peter, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness*, (Brigitte Berger, Hansfried Kellner) Vintage Books, New York, N.Y., 1973.
29. Berger, Peter, *ibid.*, Chapters 1, 2, pp. 23-62. See also Inkeles, Alex and Smith, David H., *Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, esp. Chapter 20, The Process of Individual Modernization, p. 278. See also Goldstein Sidney, *Patterns of Mobility 1910-1950*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1958.

30. It must be also noted that the subject matter of ethnicity can provide the substance of a professional career, and thus the mechanism of actual assimilation. The first Jewish professors hired to teach history taught Jewish History. It was only in the second professional generation that they taught other different kinds of history. Perhaps one could say that the same is true today with black culture and that the danger could be twofold: (1) that there is no substance in black studies—the area being solely an “empty strategim” for placing blacks on university campuses, and (2) that blacks will be contained or encapsulated within the boundaries of this subject matter field.
31. Goldstein, Sidney, *op. cit.*
32. Gans, Herbert, *The Urban Villagers*, Free Press, N.Y., 1962. An excellent study of Italian Americans living in Boston.
33. Handlin, Oscar, *The Uprooted*, Little Brown Co., Boston, Mass., 1951.
34. Yancey, William L. Eugene P. Ericksen and Richard N. Juliani “Emergent Ethnicity: A review and Reformulation.” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 41, June 1976, pp. 391–403.
35. Howe, Irving, *World of Our Fathers*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, N.Y., 1976. See esp. Chapters 3, 4 and 13, 14.
36. Mills, C. Wright, *The Sociological Imagination*, Evergreen, Grove Press, New York, N.Y., 1959. The relationship between the private problems and public issues is an aspect of the sociological imagination. See p. 8–24.
37. Howe, Irving, *op. cit.*, pp. 238–261.
38. Howe, Irving, *op. cit.*, pp. 238–261.
39. Carmichael and Hamilton quote *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, Vintage Books, New York, N.Y., 1967.
40. Carmichael, *op. cit.* As Carmichael and Hamilton state: “We must begin to think of the black community as a base of organization to control institutions in that community. Control of the ghetto schools must be taken out of the hands of ‘professionals,’ most of whom have long since demonstrated their insensitivity to the needs and problems of the Black child” *Ibid.* p. 166.
See also, *Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan Africanism*, Vintage Books, N.Y., 1971.
Cleaver, Eldridge, *Soul on Ice*, McGraw-Hill, New York, N.Y., 1968.
Post Prison Writings and Speeches, Vintage Books, New York, N.Y., 1969
41. Excellent fictional accounts of the helplessness in terms of control over image and identity can be found in Richard Wright’s *The Outsider* (Harper and Row, N.Y., 1953) and Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man* (Random House, N.Y., 1948).

42. See Arendt, Hannah, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, World Publishing Co., N. Y., 1958, for a deep examination of the ideological conditions involved.

43. Neary, John, *Julian Bond : Black Rebel*, William Morrow & Co., N. Y., 1971, p. 57.

44. Glazer, Nathan, *Affirmative Discrimination : Ethnic Inequality and Public Policy*, Basic Books, N. Y., 1975. As Glazer says, "But now there are chairs for Ukrainian studies at Harvard, supported by funds raised by Ukrainian students. It is this kind of trade-off that makes it so difficult to decide whether there is really...a third-generation return to ethnic origins and interests." at 27.

45. See, Howard Sherain, "The Questionable Legality of Affirmative Action, *Journal of Urban Law*, Vol. 51, No. 1, August 1973, p. 41.

46. Mills, C. Wright, *op. cit.*, Chapters 7, 9.

47. Blau, Peter M. and Otis Dudley Duncan, *The American Occupational Structure*, New York, N. Y., John Wiley & Sons, 1967.

48. Greely, Andrew M., *Why Can't They be Like Us?* Dutton Co., New York: N. Y., 1971.

49. Yancey, et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 399.

50. *Ibid* at p. 400.

51. Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot : The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, M. I. T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, at 310.

It is a fair contention that the recent ethnic resurgence and its unique urban bias can be traced at least intellectually to the publication of this book.

52. Yancey, et. al., *op. cit.*, at 392.

53. *Ibid* at p. 397.

54. *Defunis v Odegard*, 416 U. S. 312, (1974).

55. See, for example, *Keyes v School District No. 1, Denver*, 368, F. Supp. 207 (1973).

56. See Stanley P. Hebert and Charles L. Reischel, "Title VII and the Multiple Approaches to Eliminating Employment Discrimination," *New York University Law Review*. 46 : 3, May 1971, pp. 449-415.

57. Jackson, Jesse L., "Give the People a Vision. *The New York Times Magazine*, April 18, 1976, p. 13.

58. *Ibid*.

59. *Ibid* at 71. See also, Jackson's remarks on the importance of schools, as he says : "The greatest potential for self-development is to be found in the public schools in our cities," at 72.

60. Warren, Ronald L., *The Community in America*, Rand McNally, Chicago, Illinois, 1963.

61. Foley, Donald L., "The use of local facilities in a metropolis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 : 238, 1950, p. 46.

62. Sennett, Richard, *Families Against the City : Middle Class Homes of Chicago, 1872-1890*, Vintage Books, New York, N. Y., 1974, p. 232.

63. Ibid., p. 237. Sennett even suggests that this is true even though the structural conditions of family life have evolved into a new form. See Chapter 11, "Union Park families and the culture of industrial cities," p. 218-237.

64. op. cit., p. 396.

65. op. cit., pp. 93-94.

66. Thus the issues former Vice President Agnew chose to publicize; crime in the streets, law and order, spoiled youth, among others are important in this context *in that they may reveal the issues a totalitarian mind uses to enhance and operationalize his political philosophy*. Fear and contemporary decadence as well as social conflict are social themes which fit smoothly into a political scheme where political decisions are increasingly centralized and secreted, and where, one might add, the holders of differing social opinions are referred to as enemies.

67. Fanta, A. L., "The cliometric revolution : A sociological inquiry." *Journal of Thought*, in press.

68. See, Roth, Henry, *Call it Sleep*, Avon Books, New York, N.Y., 1964. For an excellent example of fiction about ethnicity.

69. Same is true with studies of political power and privilege.

70. Carmichael, op. cit., Carmichael fashioned the idea of black power to make blackness a positive force. This process of inversion is documented frequently in minority group experience.

71. This could be a false issue because there are examples where the middle class is, in fact, less tolerant of difference than other classes. See, Sennett and Cobb, op. cit., no. 14

72. Berger, et. al., op. cit., Chapter 3, pp. 63-83.

73. Two things may occur. Difference can become strained to the point of becoming a circus. Resistance to miscegenation is not now based upon skin color but upon "mind types".

74. Once privatized, the problem becomes one of making the group public; i.e., translating the structural conditions of group life into the function of modern politics. This was the initial difficulty faced by American Indian Movement (A. I. M.)

75. Following the notion of inversion hope would seem to exist if the modernization process could be encapsulated-contained in a kind of enclave. Glazer and Moynihan point out that ethnicity "is more than an influence on events; it is commonly the source of events. Social and political institutions do not merely respond to ethnic interests; a great number of institutions exist for the specific purpose of serving ethnic interests. This in turn tends to perpetuate them". Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moynihan, op. cit., p. 310.

76. Affirmative action; Title VII, U.S.C.A.

77. See, Barbara R. Lorch, "Reverse Discrimination in Sociology Departments : A Preliminary Report. *The American Sociologist*, Vol. 8, No. 3, August 1973, p. 119.

78. Glazer, Nathan, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

Martin Feldstein, "The Economics of the New Unemployment," *The Public Interest*, Fall, 1973, pp. 3-42.

79. As with all inheritances, they are not given solely as a matter of right but are governed by law, duties, and taxes. While one can inherit a variety of things, jobs appear to be a category less subject to inheritance and increasingly controlled in pattern and distribution by law. While no organic law presently exists which directly controls historical inheritance, perhaps one could argue that an organic law which governs and controls the economic opportunities available to groups does, in a fashion, control the cultural inheritance.

80. As a careerist ideology underpinning a social movement, women's liberation has a definite urban middle class bias. As such, it is highly individuated and reflects the modern privatization mentioned earlier. Each of the careerist women would have different political persuasions and think and live quite differently.

Note in this context the modern ideology of America. It also is solely *procedural*; life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are all *process terms* and with the emphasis on *pursuit* they become developmental mechanism capable of infinite redefinition and modernization for the individual.

81. See, Smith, Hedrick, *The Russians*, Quadrangle—The New York Times, New York, N.Y., 1976, Chapter 5.

82. Berger, Peter, et. al., op. cit., p. 130.

83. Rifkin, Ellis, *The Shaping of Jewish History*, Scribner's, New York, N.Y., 1971, p. 247.

84. Sartre, Jean Paul, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, Schocken, New York, N.Y., 1965. For an excellent discussion of the social democrat, see Chapter 2.

85. Blau, Peter M. and Otis Dudley Duncan, *The American Occupational Structure*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, N.Y., 1967, p. 429.

86. Bell, Daniel, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, Basic Books, New York, N.Y., 1976, p. 225.

87. *Serna v Portales Municipal School*, 499, F. 2d, 1147. The Bilingual Education Act (Pub. Law 90-247; Title VII, Sec. 702, states that: "In recognition of the special educational needs of the large numbers of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States, Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet these special educational needs. For the purposes of this subchapter, 'children of limited English-speaking ability' means children who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English". U.S.C.A., Vol 20, p. 460.

Note also, Anderson, op. cit., "Ethnically speaking, seven in ten poor persons are white (one of whom is Spanish-speaking) and three in ten are

black. However, the probabilities of being poor are almost three and a-half times greater for blacks than whites, and over two-and-a-half times greater for Spanish-speaking people than for Anglos", at p. 109.

88. Farrell, William E, "Polish-Americans Mounting Counterdrive Against Stereotyping", *The New York Times*, March 25, 1976, p. 40.

89. Novak, Michael, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, Macmillan Publishing Co., New York, N. Y., 1973, p. 165.

90. The counterpart for the women's movement would be the appearance of women's studies as a curricular offering in the schools. Thus, the previously mentioned fact of the careerist aspects of the women's movement has yet another dimension. See also, n. 30.

91. Goodman, Paul, *New Reformation : Notes of a Neolithic Conservative*, Vintage Books, New York, N.Y., 1971, p. 110.

92. Rosenberg, Harold, *Discovering the Present : Three Decades in Art, Culture, and Politics*, Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1973, p. 261.

93. Novak, Michael, "The Family Out of Favor", *Harpers*, Vol. 252, No. 1511, April 1976, p. 37, at 44.

94. Sennett, Richard, "Pure as the Driven Slush", *The New York Times*, May 10, 1976, p. 27.

95. Rosenberg, Harold, *op. cit.*, p. 28.